

# THE SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—SCOTTISH MUNICIPAL HERALDRY.

*The Arms of the Royal and Parliamentary Burghs of Scotland.*

By JOHN MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., J. R. N. MACPHAIL,  
and H. W. LONSDALE. Edinburgh: William Blackwood  
& Sons. 1897.

WE may as well state at the outset that Lord Bute has laid all lovers of Heraldry under a debt of gratitude to him by the publication of this book: and in its mere physical aspect its possessors have something to be proud of. It is becomingly, not to say handsomely, clad in white, with 'end papers' of the most delightful shade of red; heraldically, indeed, it might be described, reversing the ordinary blazon of a lambrequin, as 'argent doubled gules,' but on the other hand it would hardly do to judge it by this technical standard as the title is lettered in gold, a conjunction of metal on metal which would make the authors, who are nothing if not purists, ghast with horror.

Coming to the inside of the book its charms break on the reader somewhat abruptly: there is not even the decent veil of a table of contents to whet his appetite for what is to come, as the authors have apparently come to the conclusion that a preface, that most useful of helps to a lazy reviewer and

even to the conscientious reader often the most interesting part of the book, inasmuch as the personality of the author is more or less revealed in it, might be dispensed with. The towns being arranged in alphabetical order a table of contents may justly perhaps be considered superfluous: as to a preface it is not for us to dispute the judgment of the authors, but it might have been as well to have given some preliminary information on certain points to which reference will shortly be made. An index, too, is a luxury which we would fain have had.

At the time of the Union there were seventy Royal Burghs in Scotland, that is, burghs which derived their constitution and certain special privileges appertaining to them directly from a Royal charter. Representatives to the Scottish Parliament were sent by all these except four, Auchtermuchty, Earlsferry, Falkland, and Newburgh, these not having exercised their right for many years: two others were deprived of their right to return a member to the British Legislature by the Reform Act of 1832, and nine more lost the same privilege in 1885. But this reduction in the number of Royal Burghs electing Members of Parliament was more than counterbalanced by the granting of the same privilege, under certain Acts of Parliament, to fifteen towns which had not previously possessed it and which were therefore called Parliamentary Burghs. In addition to these, one corporation (Coatbridge) was created a Municipal Burgh by a special Act in 1885. These make up eighty-six towns in all and it is their 'ensigns armorial' which are described in this work: we should not perhaps omit to mention that those of Berwick on Tweed are given as an addendum.

Considering that Scotland possesses a heraldic executive of very ancient origin it is somewhat surprising to find that out of these eighty-six burghs the arms of only twenty-six have been recorded in the Lyon Register. In this respect, however, they are on the same footing with many of the Scottish nobility. What became of the old Register of Arms which must have been kept by the Lords Lyon previous to 1672 has never been satisfactorily ascertained: whether they were destroyed by fire, or carried off by the 'auld enemy' is not clear. From



1639 to 1672 the Parliaments from time to time endeavoured to ensure that all persons should have their arms examined by Lyon and entered in the Register. In the last mentioned year an Act was passed which is still the governing statute as to registration of arms in Scotland: it ordered all persons who were in the habit of using arms to give in a description of the same to the Lyon Clerk, in order that they might, in the case of cadets, be properly differenced, and in all cases duly recorded. Any person using arms after the expiration of a year and a day from the passing of the Act rendered himself liable to a fine of one hundred pounds and any articles on which the arms were displayed were to be escheat to the king. The consequence of this enactment was that arms were very freely sent in to the authorities to be recorded, accompanied no doubt by more or less lucid descriptions, but many persons who had undoubtedly been using arms with a perfect right did not obtemper the provisions of the Act as to recording them. 'Many of our most ancient and considerable families,' says Nisbet, 'have neglected to register their arms notwithstanding the Act of Parliament, partly through indolence and partly through their own greatness as if the same could never be obscured.' The penal clauses of the Act were never put in force very vigorously, though from time to time proceedings have been taken under it: even in modern times the powers conferred by it have been exercised with advantage: it has prevented the disfiguration by bad armoury of one of our finest Cathedrals, and, if report speaks truth, it still more lately saved a noble building, destined no doubt to become historic, from perpetuating on its face heraldic falsehoods.

Probably if the Lords Lyon had been a little more energetic and ready to avail themselves of the powers given them by the Act of 1672, not only at the period at which it was passed but in after years, much more might have been accomplished in the way of getting a complete record. Indeed, had the power of visitation been granted to the Lyon and his heralds in that Act, as it had been in a statute passed in 1592, it might have done a great deal towards the due registration of arms. But the real evil lay in the want of personal effort on the part

of the holders of the office of Lyon. Sir Alexander Erskine must no doubt have taken some trouble at the first inception of the register of 1672, but he drifted into divisive political courses, joined his kinsman the Earl of Mar in the rising of 1715, and afterwards passed into obscurity. After that the office was for long made the mere appanage of ornamental place-holders, who did not pretend either to know anything about heraldry or to do any work in connection with the office, the duties of which were performed by deputy. Now things are on a very different footing, but it is much to be regretted, for the sake of the completeness of the record that such a custom should have prevailed for so long. The consequence has been that the arms of many of the leading families in Scotland have never been recorded, so it is not surprising that the Burghs followed the bad example set them by persons who ought to have known better, and have failed to send in their arms for registration.

Fortunately, however, we are left in little doubt as to what the arms of the different burghs really were, as in most cases their seals have come down to the present day. And it must be kept in mind that when a corporation had once adopted arms, there was no necessity ever to change them; they were crystallized, as it were, for all time, differing in this respect from the arms of families which were liable to undergo constant alterations owing to marriages with heiresses which brought on new quarterings, augmentations of honour granted by the king, and several other causes. Not that municipal arms did in point of fact remain absolutely unchanged, for we find a series of seals of the same burgh sometimes displaying different interpretations of the arms; but this may generally be put down more to the caprice of the seal engraver than to any actual intention on the part of the corporation itself. These remarks, however, only apply to the burghs that were in possession of their charter previous to 1672. The Parliamentary creations of later date had never, in many cases, any arms assigned to them at all, but invented them for themselves, sometimes with truly lamentable results. Lord Neaves has somewhere sung about 'the jolly testator who makes his

own will,' but that cheerful amateur could hardly make a greater mess of his handiwork than the greatly daring burgh which proceeds to manufacture its own arms. Our authors give a dreadful instance of this in the case of Greenock: so awful is it that Mr. Lonsdale has shrunk from depicting it in all its native crudity and has only given a modified version of it; but it is described in the text as follows:—'It (the coat of arms) represents on the foreground the quay with a man nervously rolling barrels under the imperious direction of another man, whose superior social position is judiciously indicated by a tall hat and an umbrella used as a walking stick. Beyond this are seen the waves of the sea with a large three-masted ship in full sail, and further off two smaller ships seen in perspective, one on each side. . . .' Now this is not a coat of arms at all but a landscape, and a bad one at that. Lord Bute gives several alternative coats which might be adopted, indicating not only the trade of the town by the ship but its connection with the leading families of the district by introducing charges from their arms. One of these, an illustration of which is given, we do not much fancy, *party per pale azure and gules a fess ermine between three covered cups or; over all on an inescutcheon azure on the waves of the sea proper a ship in full sail or*. The principles on which his composition is started are right enough; we have the covered cups of Shaw of Greenock and the ermine fess of Crawford of Cartburn, but we think, with all deference, that too much has been attempted in the dividing of the shield *per pale* so as to give the colours as well as the charges of the two families, while the introduction of an inescutcheon is of doubtful soundness, such a charge (or sub-ordinary) being usually reserved in British Heraldry for certain special purposes. The alternative coat, given on the following page, in which the fess and inescutcheon are omitted, the ship being the principal charge on the shield, is preferable, though here again the dividing of the upper half of the shield by a paler line might have been avoided.

Another odd and unheraldic coat is that of Auchtermuchty, but it does not offend the canons of good taste so grievously

as that of Greenock. The device represents a husbandman sowing: although the burgh charter is of the respectable antiquity of 1517, it is doubtful whether the seal does not merely date from the bankruptcy of the Burgh, which took place in 1827. Why it was ever adopted, and when, will probably remain a mystery, especially as the authors reject the idea that the device can cover any allusion, either remorseful, regretful, or minatory, to the sowing of wild oats! Here again Lord Bute, for we presume we are not mistaken in assigning to his hand the suggested coats, gives a design which might be adopted in preference to the somewhat meaningless one at present in use, we give it at length as a specimen of a very pretty and ingenious coat, *azure on a mount rising from a stream in base a wild boar passant before an oak tree all proper, suspended from the boughs of the oak a scutcheon charged with the Royal Arms of Scotland, between on the dexter a scutcheon charged with the arms of Fife and in the sinister a mace in pale proper surmounted of a scutcheon charged with the arms of Scrymgeour of Myres.* This is an eminently suggestive coat, though again rather overburdened with detail: it looks charming as depicted on the page by Mr. Lonsdale's clever pencil, but if it had to be used on letter paper, or hung up on the walls of a Council Chamber, the details would be apt to be lost. But notwithstanding all that the arms show a fertility and grace of invention of which it would be well for some of the burghs mentioned in this volume to take advantage. Here is the interpretation of the coat:—

'We have constructed this imaginary coat out of the following elements. The name *Auchtermuchty* signifies *the steep land of boars*, and we have therefore followed the example of the canting coat of St. Andrews, also in Fife, based upon the meaning of its name of *Muckross*, or the *promontory of boars*: The water in base indicates the mire in which the ancient boars wallowed and which now gives its name to the mansion house of Myres. The inescutcheon of Scotland indicates the Royal origin of the Burgh, that of Fife its historic position as part of the earldom, and the mace with the third scutcheon the unique privilege conferred upon the Scrymgeours of Myres, and still enjoyed by the owner of the Myres estate of appointing one of the macers of the Court of Session.'

This is very ingenious and the allusions are not carried further than is allowable in heraldry. The insertion of the

Royal Arms of Scotland seem unnecessary. They not only tend to crowd the shield but there is no reason why Auchtermuchty should display these royal insignia more than any other Burgh which has its constitution from an ancient charter of the Scottish kings.

Greenock and Auchtermuchty, however, represent what may be termed the poorest class of the municipal arms of Scotland. If the others resembled them their study would be an extremely uninteresting task. Fortunately this is not the case, the majority of the arms, even if they do not satisfy the somewhat exacting taste of the authors of this book, being intimately associated with local history or tradition. In this respect the greater number of the arms fall into four classes, first, those which contain representations of the local or patron saint; second, those which are founded upon the arms of the principal family in the district; third, those containing castles or some similar building as the principal charge; and fourth, those on which that position is occupied by ships, these being, as might be expected, entirely sea coast towns. Some of them combine two of those features on the same shield, such as Rothesay, which has both a ship and a castle, but such instances are rare. The towns which bear saints as their arms amount altogether to twenty-seven, but of these six bear the representation on the reverse of their seal, the obverse being occupied with some other design; thus Aberdeen bears on the obverse *gules three towers triple towered within a double tressure counter-flowered argent*, but the Lyon has granted an alternative coat based on the reverse of the seal, a precedent which has been followed in other cases. Five of the above-mentioned twenty-seven bear the Blessed Virgin, the probability being—though it is not always clear—that the church of the town was dedicated to her. The origin of the castles, amounting in number to twelve, is obvious, and the ships, of which there are twenty-two, generally indicate the trade of the town or its situation as a seaport, though occasionally they are combined with figures of saints as in the case of Queensferry.

Commemorating, as so many of these coats of arms do, the



deeds of Scottish saints and other personages in sacred history, we could not have a more efficient exponent of the subject than Lord Bute, who, it is pretty safe to say, is responsible for the much curious and erudite information regarding them. No saint is so obscure that he has not something to say about him, and he generally enters into minute detail about their personal characteristics, the proper way in which they should be clad, and the reason for their appearance on their respective shields. It is not, of course, to be wondered at that no less than five of the Royal Burghs should have selected the Virgin Mary as their arms, or rather in all probability at first as the device on their seal which was afterwards put on a shield and so assumed an armorial character. In the case of Banff, however, though the Virgin with the Babe in her arms has been used since 1472, there is a still older seal which represents a boar passant, taken, Dr. Cramond thinks, from the fact that in Irish the word *banbh* means a sucking pig. As a suggested coat containing the ancient and modern arms the authors give a representation of the Virgin and child with a little pig fawning on her, as to the appropriateness of which opinions may be divided. It has, no doubt, a certain amount of authority, as on the seal of Cullen, which also contains Virgin and Child seated on a faldstool, there is a whelp depicted on the base, being a play upon the name of the town, the Gaelic for a whelp being *cuilean*. Why Lauder should have selected the Virgin as its sigillary device is not clear, but Lord Bute believes that Leith based its choice of the same design upon the fact that the Collegiate Church of Restalrig was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, though the patron saint of North Leith was St. Ninian. In connection with Leith it may be noticed that very strong language is used about the Lyon office having so lately as 1889 granted arms to this burgh representing the Virgin and Child seated in an ancient two masted galley, and with a cloud resting over their heads. The fact seems to be that what was supposed to be a cloud in the earlier seals was really intended to be a canopy such as is quite commonly found in representations of the Virgin and Child. There is much sarcasm indulged in also at



the expense of the unfortunate artist, who certainly seems to have painted the achievement pretty badly. We are not concerned to defend the Lyon office, but from what we have happened to see of the artistic work done there now, things seem to be much improved. After all, granting that the insertion of the cloud was a mistake—a mistake which perhaps might not have happened had the late Lyon been ten years younger than he was in 1889—are the authors quite justified in stigmatising the fact of the sacred mother and child being put under a cloud as ‘peculiarly offensive?’ May the cloud not be typical of the mystery of the Incarnation? And Our Lord was at least twice overshadowed by a cloud, on the Mount of Transfiguration and at His Ascension. A cloud therefore we venture to think need not necessarily imply any derogatory or offensive idea.

The only other burgh which commemorates the Virgin and Child is Selkirk, which possesses a singularly beautiful representation (at least Mr. Lonsdale’s interpretation of it is singularly beautiful) of the Holy Mother seated on a bench with the royal arms of Scotland as a scutcheon at her feet.

It is interesting to note the comparative popularity of the different saints depicted on the burgh seals. We should have expected to find peculiarly Scottish saints more to the front, but though St. Michael appears thrice, St. Ninian and St. Margaret have each been adopted in only two instances, while St. Andrew figures on the seal of his own town alone. With regard to St. Michael a funny mistake has been made in the case of Aberdeen. That town duly gave in its arms to be recorded in 1674: an alternative coat, based on the reverse of the seal, was allowed to it and was registered as follows:—azure a temple argent, St. Michael standing in the porch mitred and vested proper with his dexter hand lifted up to heaven praying over three children in a boiling chauldron of the first, and holding in the sinister a crosier or.

There is no difficulty in showing that calling the figure here represented St. Michael is absolute nonsense: but after all it appears to have been merely a clerical error on the part of the writer of the entry in the Lyon Register, for in the Patent

granted by Sir Charles Erskine, now in the possession of the city, it is stated that the figure is that of St. Nicolas. The episode intended to be commemorated is one in the life of the latter saint. When visiting his diocese (Myra in Cilicia—he has no local connection with Aberdeen at all), ‘he lodged in the house of a certain man who was a son of Satan. This man in the scarcity of provisions was accustomed to steal little children, whom he murdered and served up their limbs as meat to his guests. On the arrival of the Bishop and his retinue he had the audacity to serve up the dismembered limbs of three unhappy children before the man of God, who had no sooner cast his eyes on them than he was aware of the fraud. He reproached the host with his abominable crime, and going to the tub where their remains were salted down he made over them the sign of the cross and they rose up alive and well.’ It should therefore be a salting tub and not a ‘boiling chauldron’ that is represented, and Mr. Lonsdale has given us a delightful design of the saint with a little tub in the background out of which three quaint children are rising.

Dumfries has got an excellent rendering of Michael and the dragon. Not only so, but there is a seal in the British Museum which is described as having on it in addition to the figure of the archangel a crescent and star, the background being imperfectly ornamented with a lozengy pattern having a roundle in each interstitial space. Lord Bute thinks the introduction of the sun, moon and stars very appropriate, as the passage in the apocalypse which describes the war in heaven speaks of ‘a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars:’ but it is rather in our opinion straining the allusion too far when it is suggested that the design on the British Museum seal is intended to represent *semée of estoiles*, and that the imperfection of the background is really intentional, the purpose of the artist having been to depict only two-thirds so *semée*, the stars from the other third having been drawn away by the tail of the dragon, in agreement with the narrative of Rev. xii. 4, ‘And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven and did cast them to the earth.’ No such arrangements—nor for

the matter of that any stars at all—appear on the recorded coat of Linlithgow, though in the illustration given as what should be they are inserted. In this case both archangel and dragon are blazoned *argent* which the authors think downright unscriptural, as St. John expressly describes the dragon as red: this is quite true, but it is no less the fact that the conventional dragon of heraldry both in this country and abroad is black, though seeing that the shape of the monster which has done duty for so many centuries as a dragon is founded upon that of the lizard family there might be something to be said for making it green. In the old Musselburgh seal there is a figure of St. Michael triumphing over the dragon with some very quaint details. He is represented as middle aged, quite bald, but with a bifurcated beard and large moustache. He wears a garment like a cloak flying on each side, and is applying to the neck of the dragon a spear with a barb at each end. He holds before him a very large shield marked with a cross. The dragon itself, whose predominant feeling seems to be not unnaturally that of alarm, has somewhat the shape of a very large otter or small short-nosed alligator. It is lying on its back with its four legs sticking up in the air.

It is curious that this coat which quite properly commemorates the relation of the burgh to the saint was altered at a later date to one bearing the charges of three mussels and three anchors, the impression having evidently arisen that the name of the town was originally derived from these shellfish and not from the archangel. It is easy to laugh at our ancestors for believing this, but it must be kept in view that philological science had not attained that development which it now has, and that as the town had been called Musselburgh and not Michaelsburgh for centuries (it occurs as the former in a charter to the monastery of Dumfermline in 1450), the mistake was not an unnatural one.

As to other saints, St. Margaret as we have mentioned appears twice: once on the reverse of the Dunfermline seal, when she is represented as crowned with the ancient crown of Scotland and holding a sceptre tipped with a *fleur de lys* in her hand, and once on the seal of the neighbouring burgh of

Queensferry where she is depicted in a boat in allusion to the *passagium reginæ*. St. Ninian is the only other saint who has been popular enough to be chosen by two towns as the device on their seal, but in this instance they are not two neighbouring communities, but widely separated towns, Nairn and Whithorn. As regards the former town it is rather surprising to find Ninian figuring as its patron saint, for though he travelled largely throughout Scotland there is no record so far as we know of his ever having been at Nairn. The authors give a rather vague explanation of his being the patron saint in saying that he 'is said to be so owing to the influence of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Fearn, which was connected with Whithorn.' But on a seal supposed to be of the thirteenth century there is a figure which Mr. de Gray Birch of the British Museum thinks to be the Bishop of Moray, by whose grant King William the Lion was enabled to found the burgh. The authors differ from Mr. Birch's interpretation, and support their views by an argument too long to be reproduced here: it is really a matter about which no definite decision can be arrived at, and readers may or may not agree with the conclusions come to in this book. But on the Whithorn seal St. Ninian is in his natural place, though Laing in his supplemental volume on Scottish seals describes him as St. Leonard, a mistake into which the authors think Mr. Brook has also fallen in describing a figure on one of St. Andrews University maces in a paper which he read on that subject before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The facts seem to be that Mr. Laing and Mr. Brook have put the figures down as St. Leonard on the strength of their having a fetter suspended from the wrist, such a symbol being undoubtedly the property of St. Leonard, commemorating as it does the privilege granted him by Clovis of exercising the prerogative of pardon towards prisoners. But on the seal he is vested as a bishop, and on the mace as an abbot, and it appears that in no other instance is he ever represented as other than a deacon or occasionally as a monk. The authors suggest the occurrence of the fetter as having something to do with his church at Whithorn as a sanctuary. The question in the end remains in our opinion

an open one, though there is certainly more appropriateness in the presence of Ninian on the Whithorn seal than any other saint: but on the other hand St. Leonard is not at all out of place on the St. Andrews mace, as not only does one of the colleges bear his name but he was patron of the Culdee hospital in that town. The latter saint is undoubtedly commemorated on the reverse of the seal of Kinghorn, though he does not there carry a fetter: but he is named in the singularly illiterate legend round the seal *Sanctus Leonardus de Ringorn*. Of the other saints represented on the various arms discussed we may mention John the Baptist, or rather his head, which appears in those of Ayr: St. Serf who is borne by Culross, St. Ægidius by Elgin, St. Lawrence by Forres, St. Boniface (the minor saint of that name) by Fortrose, St. Bryce by Kirkcaldy (on the reverse), though it is suggested that as there is no known connection between St. Brice, who never was in Scotland at all, and Kirkcaldy, the name may possibly be a corruption for Patricius. We meet, however, with seals on which saints are depicted who have no known local connection. On the reverse of the Montrose seal, for instance, there is a representation of the crucifixion of St. Peter, though there is no church (if we except a small Episcopal chapel) dedicated to that saint, and the Dominican friary seems to have been St. Mary's. Pittenweem has appropriately enough St. Adrian in a boat, seeing this saint was murdered in the Isle of May; we should certainly have expected to find the patron saint of Scotland adopted as the bearing of more towns than the one named after him, but it is not so: and even there he is hardly done justice to, according to the humorous account given of the manner in which he is portrayed on a modern seal of the burgh of St. Andrews. The seal has, we are told—

\* A shield of bad shape ensigned with the national flag, *azure a saltire argent*, but with a figure of St. Andrew nailed thereto attired in sailors jersey and trousers of such extreme tightness that it seems almost incredible that they should not have been burst in the operation of distending the apostle on the cross, and which define his abdomen with great distinctness. To this strange garb is added an Elizabethan ruff. He is represented as absolutely bald, but with a fierce moustache. The city arms are placed on a circle between his legs, surmounting the lower part



of the shield, and have much the appearance of a coin. The boar since the Middle Ages has been changed from the wild to the domestic animal, and is shown trotting with a contented air to dexter. He is surmounted by the legend "*Dum spiro spero*," of which we fail to grasp the meaning if intended to be placed in the mouth of the boar, while if it is intended to express a hope on the part of the apostle that a reprieve might yet arrive in time to save his life, it is opposed to the best authenticated tradition of his mental attitude on the occasion. On the reverse the Bishop is attired in an exceedingly tight cassock, sharply emphasising his abdomen, but wears a pectoral cross. A neat foot-pace has been substituted for the demon beneath his feet. The faldstool has been provided with a high back. It has two arms, and a cockatrice is rushing from underneath it, as though in amazement and horror, on each side. The crown has disappeared from his right side, and his right hand itself is no longer raised as in the act of blessing but open as in that of swearing.'

With which thoroughly unconventional piece of description we take leave of the saints!

We have noticed above that a considerable proportion of the Scottish burghs bear castles as their arms. There are altogether twelve of them which have this bearing, if we do not include Dumbarton, which has an elephant with a castle on its back. Two other towns have architectural subjects on their shields, Culross having what is certainly either the abbey or the church, and Kirkcaldy having what is officially described as an abbey, but what the authors suggest may be intended for a castle. On the obverse of the seal of Aberdeen there is now represented a group of three castles each with three towers, but this appears to be an evolution from an earlier seal on which is displayed, not three separate castles but what is apparently a conventional representation of a walled town with a closed gate in the centre and three church spires surmounted by crosses rising from behind the battlements. Aberdeen is the only town that thus displays three castles: Inverurie has two, which are here represented with single towers only, an example followed in the case of Rothesay, whose single castle is of the keep pattern: all the other castles in the burgh arms are of the triple towered sort (except Sanquhar, which is represented as having five towers), though much ingenuity is displayed by the artist in varying the style of fortification. But the castle, frequent though



it is, must yield in popularity as a charge to the ship. Possessing as Scotland does a coast line of marvellous length for the size of the country, it is not surprising to find a ship a favourite device for the arms of many of its burghs. Twenty-two in all have a ship either as the principal or as an auxiliary charge on their arms, all as might be expected being maritime towns. Four of them take the opportunity of making their patron saint a passenger on the vessel, and indeed Kirkcudbright has the moiety of another holy personage introduced in the shape of the head of the martyr St. Oswald, which St. Cuthbert holds on his knees. The only real connection which the saint had with the martyr was that the latter's head was sent to Lindisfarne, having been rescued from the spike upon which it had been fixed by the King of the Mercians, and was ultimately put into the same shrine with the body of St. Cuthbert, and with it translated to Durham. There is a singular variety in the shape of the different ships represented on the seals. Campbeltown, Renfrew and Rothesay have the old type of single masted galley without any human figures: Queensferry and Kirkcudbright have the same boat with saints as passengers, while the vessel in the arms of Rutherglen has a crew of two, and Crail has the large crew of seven chilly-looking mariners who stand in a state of complete nudity gazing pensively over the bulwarks. Leith has a two masted galley, and Burntisland, Kirkwall, Wigtown and Stranraer have ships of an antique form with three masts, while Earlsferry and Inverkeithing possess old-fashioned one masted ships with high bows and sterns, but not resembling the conventional galley. The boats of Kilrenny, Pittenweem, Wick, and North Berwick have no masts at all, but are manned by rowers, represented naked in the cases of the three first mentioned towns, but clad in that of North Berwick. It is difficult to understand the reason why the authors should be so anxious to represent the unfortunate occupants of the vessels as destitute of clothing. On the Pittenweem seal indeed the two boys who are rowing St. Adrian are portrayed as naked, but surely this is hardly an adequate reason for inflicting the same fate on the crews of the other ships. No doubt the authority

of St. Peter is quoted, 'he girt his fisher's coat unto him, for he was naked, and did cast himself into the sea,' but it must be kept in view that what might be a pleasant relief on the sea of Galilee would be a very different matter in the stormy waters and inclement temperature of the Firth of Forth. Besides, St. Peter evidently felt that while he could do what he liked in the matter of dress (or undress) while in his ship or with his own crew, it did not become him to appear before any one for whom he had respect without clothing himself decently, and he therefore put on his fishers' coat before plunging into the water, at a time indeed the most likely for him to cast it off. But we must return to the ships themselves, only however to point out that the more modern burghs have naturally a more modern build of ship—Greenock, Port-Glasgow, and Portobello being good instances of this, while Oban is the solitary example of a town having a small one-masted cutter on its seal.

Fish are not so common, at all events as the principal charge, as might be expected in the arms of the Scottish towns. Anstruther Wester has a pretty coat of three fishes in fret, and Inveraray a curious and not very heraldic one of five herrings entering a herring-net; its history is obscure, but it must be of comparatively modern origin, and though in the hands of Mr. Lonsdale the coat has been made to look fairly well, it was evidently composed at first in entire ignorance of heraldic requirements. The only inland town which displays fish on its shield is Peebles, who have three salmon counter-naiant.

If the reader wishes to enter into the subject of the sun, moon, and stars, we may refer him to the articles on Crail, Dingwall, and Stirling, for a very full discussion on the proper mode of representing the celestial bodies. As to the difference between a star and a mullet—a difference which English heraldry makes to consist of a hole in the centre—the authors apparently think that the unpierced mullet may fitly represent a star; and, as corroborating this opinion, we point that Mr. Eve, in his recent work (afterwards alluded to), says that if Mr. Boutell be correct in stating that the Rowelle-spur began

to be used about 1320, and that in a Roll of Henry III. (1216-1272) appears in the arms of the Earls of Oxford (quarterly gules and or, in the first quarter a mullet argent), the starry origin of the charge is manifest in spite of *mollette* being the French word for the rowel of a spur. The device on the Stirling seal the authors consider quite astrological, as not only are the sun moon and stars portrayed in a particular, though astronomically impossible, conjunction, but the five planets are made of different sizes in accordance with their apparent magnitude; and it is suggested 'That they are all arranged as in a scheme to represent some moment of time according to the geocentric system then in vogue, with the exception of the glaring blunder of placing Saturn between the moon and the earth; the earth being represented by Stirling Castle, and the arrangement having the appearance of being extended to represent the aspect of the heavens in relation to Stirling on some particular occasion.' Such is the theory of the authors, or, it would probably be more correct to say, of Lord Bute, whose studies have embraced astrology, as they have most subjects. We are, however, ingenuously enough, told in the next paragraph that this theory is not thought sound by several eminent authorities to whom it has been submitted, and Lord Bute himself admits that, from an astrological point of view, the moment would have been very unpropitious, and therefore very unlikely to be chosen either for that of any important event or for immortalisation on the seal. It not only represents a total eclipse of the moon, but 'The sun, in conjunction with the great Benefic Jupiter, has just set, and the moon is, in conjunction with the great Malefic Saturn, upon the ascendant, and the lesser Benefic Venus is in the House of Death.' In connection with the celestial bodies, we may mention that while the sun (which is never represented in this volume by the well-known figure of a human face with rays, but either as a round knob with twelve wavy rays, or as a mere irradiated star), is usually depicted as of the metal or, in the coats of Rothesay both it and the moon are of the strange tincture *tenny*, a probably unique instance of its use in Scottish heraldry. This was done because the field of the

shield is argent, but why such an unusual tincture was employed is not easy to understand, as, at all events abroad, the sun is not unfrequently made *gules*, as the arms of the Spanish family of Solis, who bear *argent the sun gules*.

There is one class of municipal arms to which we have not alluded, which deserves some mention, inasmuch as it represents one of the most historically interesting features which pertain to them. We have seen that many of the coats owe their origin to the Patron Saint of the towns; others pourtray the principal local feature or characteristic, such as castles or ships, but a not considerable number derive their origin from the arms of the principal family of the district, to whose powerful protection the burgh was no doubt often indebted, and whose arms, blazoned on the liveries of the retainers or painted on the shields of armed warriors, were amongst the most familiar objects which met the eyes of the inhabitants in their daily life. Brechin, for instance, adopted '*or, three piles in point gules*,' being the blazon of Henry de Brechin, natural son of David Earl of Huntingdon, in England; Earl of Garioch and Lord of Brechin in Scotland, half-brother of King William the Lion. It is true this was accompanied at one time with a representation of the Trinity in the usual mediæval style, but the authors are of opinion that this purely religious composition (probably taken from the seal of the Chapter of the Cathedral) is not really a part of the municipal arms, and that they should simply consist of the historical coat above mentioned. Kilmarnock, too, adopts the simple coat of the Boyds—*azure, a fess chequy argent and gules*—without any change; and Peterhead takes those of the Keiths, Earls Marischal. Hamilton bears the three cinquefoils of the family from whom it gets its name, but alters the tincture from ermine to argent. Dornoch has the arms of the Earls of Sutherland on a small escutcheon, with a cat sitting on the top of it, the whole contained in the bend of a horse-shoe, which is supposed to record one of those fanciful but wholly spurious traditions as to the origin of the name, which are only too common everywhere. Rothesay has the Stewart arms impaled with what is supposed to be a conventional representation of its bay;

they are unique, as was remarked above, in having the tincture *tenny* on them, and are also the solitary example of a municipal coat which is impaled. Might we, with all due respect, suggest to the learned nobleman, whose name stands first on the title-page of this book, that he should use his influence with the provost of the burgh to get the arms of the town officially recognised and recorded in that register in which, whatever its faults may have been or are, all Scottish arms ought to be ?

The classification which we have in the preceding pages roughly indicated, though including a large proportion of the burghs, still leaves many unaccounted for. It is manifestly impossible to enter into these in detail ; some, though interesting, are unexplainable. New Galloway, for instance, bears *gules, a cross reversed argent, ensigned with a boar's head erased, and encircled in chief with a viscount's coronet of sixteen pearls*. The tinctures, by the way, are said to be taken from the burgess ticket, but we are not told that of the boar's head. Even the ingenuity of the authors, which is not usually at fault, fails to find any very satisfactory ground for the origin of this coat. Some, again, are feeble and uninteresting, such as Newburgh, which simply has adopted the Royal Badge of Scotland, with a Greek cross below it, or Montrose, which has a large rose, from the fancied derivation of its name from that flower. Some are not heraldic at all ; we have mentioned the 'sower going forth to sow' of Auchtermuchty, and there are the examples of the foxes under the plum tree of Galashiels, and the goat browsing on a vine of Haddington, which are cases in point : the two latter, it is plausibly suggested, may have been taken from classic gems. Whatever be the origin or meaning of the different arms, the reader will find them all carefully discussed ; the articles are one and all full both of erudition and interest, and one could go on indefinitely culling their stores of information, but space forbids.

It is difficult to see what a corporation has to do with a crest which is a purely personal and military distinction, and one which presupposes a head on which it may be placed. It has been said that a corporation has neither a soul to be



saved, nor other portions of the human frame on which persuasive efforts might be employed, and it has still less a head which it might adorn with a helmet or surmount with a crest. Yet we find at least fourteen of the burghs mentioned in this volume using crests, and some of them, such as Edinburgh, apparently with official authority. Many of these are taken from some local association of ideas, such as Cupar, which bears the Fife lion; Anstruther Wester, which has taken the arm and battle-axe of the Anstruther family; and Hamilton, which appropriates one of the cinquefoils from its shield. Rutherglen does not seem to have adopted its crest of a demi-figure of the Virgin and Child till 1889; it might have been better not to take such a step, but surely the authors are hyper-critical when they object to the figure as being 'on the scale of a very large barber's wig-block or hairdresser's bust.' We did not know that crests were drawn uniformly to scale; if the authors will look at almost any seal or tomb of the period when heraldry was its best, they will see what a disproportionate difference the crest and helmet bore to the size of the shield, and if they will study the crest on the helmet of the 8th Lord Cobham, which hangs over his tomb in Cobham Church, they will see that the resemblance of a head to a barber's block is not confined to modern work. The authors, too, hold up their hands in horror and amazement at the awful state of the mind of the Scottish officials which permitted them in 1694 to give to Montrose such a crest as *a hand issuing from a cloud, and reaching down a garland of roses proper*. It is quite true to say that a crest is a material object intended to be fastened to the top of a helmet, and that it is senseless to invent one which is incapable of such treatment. But we can assure the authors that the Scottish authorities were not sinners above all others in this respect. It is difficult to say what could not be attached to a helmet; in actual practice, some very extraordinary things were so affixed, as we may read in the pages of Chastelain, and both in literature and art there are examples of impossible combinations, and that too at a time when heraldry had not become so decadent as it had at the end of the seventeenth century. The pictures of Ucello



contain many most curious crests displayed on the helmets of his warriors, and in the works of Peter de Ronsard allusions may be found to crests which would defy the skill not only of any armourer but of any heraldic painter to design.

Only about a dozen of the towns appear to use supporters, and of these, not half have official authority for so doing. Hawick is in the singular position of having its achievements 'embellished by two banners,' which stand outside the shield and take the place of supporters. The obverse of the Dumfermline shield displays a castle supported by two lions, the whole being within the shield. The lions look suspiciously out of place, and their proper position would presumably be outside the shield, but there seems to be ancient authority for their being included in it, the only example to the contrary being on a comparatively modern flag. We are surprised, in connection with this, at a statement of the authors (who are usually and quite properly most punctilious) that they 'do not mean to say that it would be illegitimate to use two forms of arms, one as on the seal and one as on the flag!' Is there any instance on record where two coats-of-arms or even different versions of the same coat are borne by the same individual?

We have noticed this volume at some length, because it is in many respects a distinguished one. It is replete with information not only about heraldry, but of all kinds of things, and it is flavoured, as we have endeavoured to show, with a quaint turn of humour. Indeed, this liking for a joke has led the authors astray more than once; for instance, in the official blazon of the arms of Renfrew, the phrase, two 'cross-crosslets fitched in the nombrille of the second,' occurs. The expression has a funny sound, so our authors pillory it as follows: 'What "in the nombrille of the second" means we at once confess that we do not understand, and we fancy that the person who wrote it did not understand it.' It is no doubt a clumsy and rather pedantic expression, but surely there can be no difficulty in understanding its meaning; the blazon has previously stated that a ship is placed 'Between two inescutcheons in the honour point or' . . . and then it

goes on to say, 'and between as many cross-crosslets fitched in the nombril of the second,' that is, that as the inescutcheons were placed on each side of the shield in a situation parallel to the position occupied by the honour point, so the cross-crosslets are placed in a similar situation as regards the nombril point, and that their tincture was of the same as the second mentioned in the blazon. Wherein lies the difficulty?

It would be ungracious, however, to take leave of a book like this in anything like the spirit of fault-finding. On the contrary, all lovers of heraldry must be grateful to Lord Bute for the labour he has bestowed on this volume. While we have no doubt that Mr. Macphail, whose name appears second in the title-page, has done yeoman service in bringing together the large mass of facts which have been used in its production, it is impossible not to perceive and acknowledge Lord Bute's dominating influence throughout it all. The extraordinary knowledge displayed (but most modestly displayed) about all sorts of out-of-the-way subjects, both sacred and profane, and the lambent humour which lights up what might by some be considered a dry subject, are peculiarly his own. The reader may find himself at points of disagreement with the writer as to certain suggestions, or even as to certain statements, but these are always worthy of consideration, and are not the mere vapid commonplaces of one who wants to fill out his pages; they are the thoughtful expressions of a man who has studied the subject with care. We trust that one result of his labours will be that the handsome edition of the work will soon be disposed of, and that a popular one will then put the book within the reach of all who have any interest in the municipal history of their country.

A word must be said about the illustrations, which are quite admirable. Mr. Lonsdale can draw the human figure well, and his representations of the various saints are full of sweetness and grace, while his rendering of lions and such other fearful wild-fowl are spirited. He has fully grasped that fundamental canon of heraldic art that everything must be treated in a conventional manner, and his style is worthy of all praise. He has adopted the shape of shield employed by

Sir David Lindsay in his MS., which, while not perhaps so graceful as the earlier heater shape, has the advantage of giving more room for the charges. The shields, too, are well filled up, no unnecessary space being left unoccupied in the field; they are all represented as surmounted with a mural crown. It is quite refreshing to see an artist of his capacity entering the lists of heraldic designers, and is a sign full of hope for the future. He is the latest, but not the least worthy, addition to that small band which includes the names of Mr. Eve (whose recent work on decorative heraldry marks a distinct advance on anything which has been written on the subject previously), Mr. Forbes Nixon, Mr. Sherborne—the armorial *ex libris* work of both of whom is well known—and Mr. Graham Johnston, the present Lyon Office herald painter, whose work we recently had the pleasure of seeing, and who has evidently drawn his inspiration from the best German sources of the 14th and 15th centuries. All this is very encouraging to the lover of heraldic art, and a deep debt of gratitude is due to the Marquess of Bute for the inception and carrying out of this notable work.

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## ART. II.—LORD TENNYSON.

*Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir.* By His Son. Two volumes. London: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

IT is rarely indeed that a book is received with such universal interest and pleasure as the Memoir of Lord Tennyson. His son has performed the difficult task with excellent taste and judgment, but even if the work had been less well done than it is, the book would have been widely read and eagerly commented on, owing to the profound and widespread admiration of the poet's works. The public are naturally anxious to know something of the private life and character of the man whom they have so long known and loved as a writer. But after all, the fame of every author and

his position in literature must stand or fall by his work, and in the end will be little affected by his private life, which is of lasting interest only in so far as it throws light upon his writings.

There can be little doubt that especially in the case of a writer of the first rank, his position in literature cannot be finally determined till after death, and must inevitably be decided by the judgment of posterity. While he is still alive, and as soon as he has established some reputation, he will be read simply because he is new; for the way in which the public rush after 'the latest novelty' in literature, neglecting the greatest authors in past ages, is truly incomprehensible. Even in fiction, the greatest writers—Scott, Dickens, Thackeray—are deserted for the latest trash. Newspapers and reviews criticise it, the public want to be able to talk about it, and the libraries are besieged for it. But this sort of popularity disappears as quickly as it arises, and generally speaking long before the death of the author. If there be real merit in the work, its reputation will last at least for a little, but after death there are few whose names are even known, and the very fact that they are known, proves that they deserve it. The judgment of contemporaries may be wrong: it is impossible to doubt that the judgment of successive generations is right. As years roll on, the verdict becomes gradually fixed, and unchallengeable. The claims of say Homer, Shakespeare, Milton, Dante, and probably also of later names—Byron, Wordsworth, Burns—are settled, and their place in literature determined. In a few years it will be seen what position Tennyson is entitled to, and we venture to think it will be in the very first rank. Such certainly is the prophecy of at least one brilliant contemporary. In 1883 Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Tennyson, while on a yachting cruise with Sir Donald Currie, were together presented with the freedom of the burgh of Kirkwall.\* Mr. Gladstone returned thanks for both, and said in the course of his speech:—

'I anticipate for Mr. Tennyson the immortality for which England and Scotland have supplied in the course of their long national life many

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\* Vol. II., p. 280.

claims. . . . The Poet-Laureate has written his own song on the hearts of his countrymen that can never die. Time is powerless against him, and I believe this, that were the period of the inquiry to be so long distant as between this day and the time when Maeshowe was built, still in regard to the Poet-Laureate of to-day, there would be no difficulty in stating who he was, and what he had done to raise the intellects and hearts of his fellow-creatures to a higher level, and by so doing acquire a deathless fame.'

Tennyson's ways and manners of life were sketched at a much earlier period of his life by another master-hand. In 1842 Emerson asked Carlyle to send him a description of Tennyson, and Carlyle replied as follows :—

'Moxon (his publisher) informs me that Tennyson is now in town and means to come and see me. Of this latter result, I shall be very glad. Alfred is one of the few British and Foreign Figures (a not increasing number, I think) who are and remain beautiful to me—a true human soul or some authentic approximation thereto, to whom your own soul can say Brother ! However, I doubt he will not come : he often skips me in these brief visits to town ; skips everybody indeed ; being a man solitary and sad as certain men are, dwelling in an element of gloom—carrying a bit of chaos about him in short, which he is manufacturing into cosmos. . . . He had his breeding at Cambridge as if for the law or the church ; being master of a small annuity on his father's decease, he preferred clubbing with his mother and sisters, to live unpromoted and write poems. In this way he lives still, now here, now there, the family always within reach of London, never in it, he himself making rare and brief visits, lodging in some old comrade's rooms. I think he must be under 40, (he was 33). One of the finest-looking men in the world. A great shock of rough dusty-dark hair ; bright laughing hazel eyes ; massive aquiline face, most massive yet most delicate ; of sallow-brown complexion, almost Indian-looking ; clothes cynically loose, free-and-easy ; smokes infinite tobacco. His voice is musical, metallic, fit for loud laughter and piercing wail, and all that may lie between ; speech and speculation free and plenteous. I do not meet in these late decades such company over a pipe. We shall see what he will grow to.'

To this Emerson replied :—

'The sketch you drew of Tennyson was right welcome, for he is an old favourite of mine. . . . Oh cherish him with love and praise, and draw from him whole books full of new verses yet.'

Carlyle's opinion of Tennyson's poetry is given in a letter to him, in 1842, after reading his third book of poems. The letter says :—



'Truly it is long since in any English book, poetry or prose, I have felt the pulse of a real man's heart as I do in this same. A right valiant, true fighting victorious heart; strong as a lion's, yet gentle, loving and full of music; what I call a genuine singer's heart! there are tones as of the nightingale; low murmurs as of wood-doves at summer noon; everywhere a noble sound as of the free winds and leafy woods. . . . In one word, there seems to be a note of "The Eternal Melodies" in this man, for which let all other men be thankful and joyful.'

It would be impossible to quote from all the distinguished persons—including Robert Browning and his wife, Charles Kingsley, Palgrave, Tyndall, Jowett, Aubrey de Vere—who have at different times expressed their admiration of Tennyson's poetry, but the very high encomium pronounced by another man of letters, Mr. J. A. Froude, may be given. He writes:—\*

'Tennyson in my estimate stands and will stand far away by the side of Shakespeare above all other English poets with this relative superiority even to Shakespeare that he speaks the thoughts and speaks to the perplexities and misgivings of his own age.'

The chief landmarks in his life may be shortly noticed. He was born in 1809, at Somersby, a Lincolnshire village, and was the son of a Lincolnshire rector. He wrote poetry when quite a child, and at 18, he and his brother published a little book of poems written by both of them. It fell very flat, and the only notice of it which can now be traced is a criticism from the *Literary Chronicle*, which says, 'This little volume exhibits a pleasing union of kindred tastes, and contains several little pieces of considerable merit!' In 1828 he went to Cambridge, where he formed his friendship with Arthur Hallam. In 1829 he won the Chancellor's gold medal for a poem on Timbuctoo—a subject which does not seem calculated to inspire a serious poet. The temptation to burlesque it is shown by some lines published in an undergraduate journal by Thackeray, then also at Cambridge, who asserted that his attempt was not ready in time, and that, as it was a pity that such a poem should be lost to the world, he sends it to *The Snob*, which is 'the most widely-circulated periodical in Europe.' Its nature may be gathered from the opening lines:

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\* Vol. II., p. 468.



' In Africa, a quarter of the world,  
Men's skins are black, their hair is crisp and curled,  
And somewhere there, unknown to public view,  
A mighty city lies, called Timbuctoo.'

Tennyson left Cambridge in 1831, without a degree—a fact which his biographer ought surely to have mentioned. It would have been interesting to know if he never aspired to University honours. All that we are told is that he left because his father 'was somewhat ailing and wished that Alfred should return to help his mother.' From that date he appears to have devoted himself to the cultivation of his art, and mercifully he was not dependent on it for a livelihood, though he afterwards lost money in an unfortunate investment, and was obliged, in 1845, to accept a Civil List Pension of £200 a year. In 1830, while he was still at Cambridge, a small volume had appeared entitled *Poems, chiefly Lyrical*. It was, on the whole, favourably received, and was followed by another small volume of the same nature in 1832. It might have been expected that, having thus placed one foot on the ladder, he would have quickly risen to the top, but, on the contrary, an interval of ten years intervened, and it was not until 1842 that another volume appeared. Even then it was not entirely new and contained various poems that had appeared before. It was, however, a great success, and by 1848 had reached a fifth edition. The time from 1832 to 1842 was not spent in idleness, but 'in strenuous labour and self-education.' Though poets no doubt are born and not made, Tennyson's experience shows how much the precious gift may be improved by cultivation. After this the fruits of his labour and self-education appeared at shorter intervals. In 1847 'The Princess' was published, and in 1850 'In Memoriam.' The latter work achieved at once the success which it deserved, and three editions were published in the first year. From that date his reputation was established as one of the first, if not the first, poet of his day. In 1855 came 'Maud,' in 1859, 'Idylls of the King,' in 1864 'Enoch Arden and other poems,' and in 1869 'The Holy Grail,' etc. Besides these important works, he frequently contributed smaller poems to Magazines, etc. In republishing in

subsequent editions, he constantly improved and altered, both by omission of what he considered less worthy, and by further polishing and refining. In 1875, and at the age of 66, he appeared in the new character of dramatist, and published 'Queen Mary,' followed at more or less brief intervals by 'Harold,' 'Becket,' 'The Cup,' 'The Falcon,' 'The Promise of Mary,' 'The Foresters,' besides more volumes of poems.

The year 1850 was an important one for Tennyson, for in it he published 'In Memoriam,' was made Poet-Laureate in succession to Wordsworth, and married. He was then 41 years of age and he and his wife had been attached to each other for fourteen years. From 1837 to 1840 they had corresponded, but from 1840 all correspondence had been forbidden, as there seemed no prospect of his being in a position to marry. Tennyson does not appear to have resisted this prohibition, which seems to show that the author of 'Locksley Hall' and 'Aylmer's Field' was yet sufficiently practical to know that a young couple require something to live on. The fact that he never attempted to earn a livelihood in any other way shows how deeply conscious he was of his own mission as a poet. By 1850, his work had brought him not only fame but means, and he was able to marry. In 1883, under Mr. Gladstone's Government, he was offered and accepted a peerage. He had very great hesitation in accepting the honour, and on two previous occasions he had refused a baronetcy. His biographer offers no excuse for what many people at the time considered the terrible mistake of accepting a peerage, but though he was the subject then of severe criticism, the objections have died away, and most people will, we think, now admit both that Her Majesty did well to recognise the claims of literature by offering the honour, and that Tennyson was well-advised in accepting it. Whether the acquisition of a coronet is an honour or not depends surely on the cause from which it springs. It may very well be that where a peerage is bestowed in return for having munificently entertained members of the royal family, or for having subscribed large sums of money for party purposes, the honour is a very doubtful one: but the case is entirely different where

the distinction comes as a recognition of talent of the highest kind, as an expression of the heart-felt admiration of the nation, and of the gratitude of thousands of readers and disciples. In Tennyson's case, it seems to us that the Sovereign did a happy and a graceful act in bestowing the highest honour in her power on one who most deserved it, and that the acceptance of the gift, which it would have been somewhat churlish to refuse, has shed a new lustre on the order which the poet condescended to join. He is described in the *Memoir* as being a most practical man, though a poet, and as having always taken an intelligent interest in politics, and no doubt he appreciated the advantage of in future having a voice in the legislation of his country—an advantage which he did not hesitate to avail himself of, even in opposition to the policy of his nominal leader—Mr. Gladstone. 'I love Mr. Gladstone, but I hate his Irish policy,' he wrote to one who asked his opinion on the subject.

Tennyson's position and claims as a poet must depend to a great extent on our conception of what poetry ought to be. Macaulay defines it as 'the art of employing words in such a manner as to produce illusion on the imagination—the art of doing by words what the painter does by means of colours.' Shakespeare's description is somewhat similar:—

'The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling  
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven ;  
And, as imagination bodies forth  
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen  
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing,  
A local habitation and a name.'

But these definitions are surely inadequate and do not rise much higher than that of Jeffrey's in the *Edinburgh Review*,\* 'The end of poetry is to please ; and the name, we think, is strictly applicable to every metrical composition from which we derive pleasure without any laborious exercise of the understanding.' Tennyson's own conception of a poet is a very different one and is indicated in his own lines:—

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\* Vol. XI., p. 216.

'The poet in a golden clime was born  
 With golden stars above;  
 Dowered with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn,  
 The love of love.'

He probably considered Mr. Gladstone's description of him, in the speech quoted above, as being one who had 'raised the intellects and hearts of his fellow-creatures to a higher level,' to be the highest praise that could be bestowed upon a poet. His conception of poetry embraced not merely beauty of language, but beauty of thought and beauty of teaching—the kind of beauty, in short, which Mr. Ruskin says is 'a sacrament of goodness.' Such poetry must improve as well as delight, and teach as well as please. It must be, as Tennyson says of manners, 'Not idle, but the fruit of loyal nature and of noble mind.' It is almost the opposite of Jeffrey's definition. Its 'end' is *not* to please, and the name is *not* applicable to every metrical composition which is easily understood. If we agree with Tennyson's obvious conception of what the aims and objects of a poet should be, then surely we must accord him a place in the very first rank. For if we are right in regarding a poet as one who should raise not only our intellect but our heart to a higher level, as one who should teach and help us in all that is noblest and best in life, then it must be admitted that Tennyson occupies a place second to none. There are a few names in literature as great, perhaps greater, in the power of poetical genius, but can we name anyone who so unites genius with the best and highest teaching?

A writer in the *Quarterly Review* for October, who writes with an air of authority as one who was personally intimate with Tennyson, complains that the *Memoir* 'seems to evade the question as to the religious views of the late poet,' and he adds:—

'Perhaps this silence was put upon the biographer by distinct injunction, but even if it be so, we who think we knew the man, cannot, even for any such presumable or assumed reason, allow a review of this *Memoir* to go forth to the world and fail to state what there is no injunction upon us to withhold. We once asked him if he could be judged as to his religious views by "In Memoriam," and he replied briefly, "Yes—that poem represents my belief."

The above remarks of the learned reviewer are a terrible warning to critics and others not to review books without reading them, for in Vol. I., p. 298, no less than 25 pages are devoted to an exposition of the poet's religious feelings and opinions, and on p. 325 we find the reviewer's statement given almost in the same words, viz.: 'When questions were written to him about Christ, he would say to me' (*i.e.*, his son) 'answer for me that I have given my belief in "In Memoriam."' Again, on p. 308 (Vol. I.) the following paragraph occurs: 'His creed, he always said, he would not formulate, for people would not understand him if he did; but he considered that his poems expressed the principles at the foundation of his faith.' It would certainly have been unfortunate if the Memoir had said nothing as to the religious opinions of the poet, for though they are, as he said himself, expressed in his poems, it is interesting to find that the views one has formed of him from his poetry, are confirmed by fact. Two quotations will be sufficient to indicate the nature of his not very definite religious opinions. On p. 309 (Vol. I.) we find:—

"This is a terrible age of unfaith," he would say. "I hate utter unfaith. I cannot endure that men should sacrifice everything at the cold altar of what, with their imperfect knowledge, they choose to call truth and reason."

And on p. 325:—

'My father expressed his conviction that "Christianity, with its divine Morality, but without the central figure of Christ, the Son of Man, would become cold, and that it is fatal to religion to lose its warmth."'

But surely even if the *Memoir* had said nothing on the subject, the fact that 'In Memoriam' expresses the poet's own belief, must be obvious to the most casual reader. No doubt an absurd mistake is sometimes made in imputing to an author opinions which he puts into the mouth of his characters. This was done to Tennyson himself in the case of 'Maud,' when it was gravely asserted that the gloomy and misanthropic views of the hero of that poem were those of the poet, and that when the imaginary speaker makes a slightly sarcastic reference to the peace-at-any-price party, it was really Tennyson hitting at John Bright! But in the case of 'In Memoriam,' there is



no concealment of the fact that the poem expresses Tennyson's own personal feelings and sorrows for the death of Arthur Hallam which are inextricably blended with the poet's thoughts and feelings regarding religion. The introduction is an invocation by the poet himself to the Deity :—

' Strong Son of God, immortal Love,  
Whom we, that have not seen Thy face,  
By faith, and faith alone, embrace,  
Believing when we cannot prove.'

The last verse is directly personal to the author—

' Forgive these wild and wandering cries,  
Confusions of a wasted youth ;  
Forgive them when they fail in truth,  
And in Thy wisdom make me wise.'

In the same poem he gives in four lines a masterly sketch of his conception of a future life—

' And doubtless unto thee is given  
A life that bears immortal fruit,  
In such great offices as suit  
The full-grown energies of Heaven.'

This description of the future is full of meaning and of hope. Heaven is represented not as a place where, in the words of a very foolish hymn, 'Congregations ne'er break up and Sabbath never end,' not as a place of wearisome inactivity and selfish bliss, but as a new experience of a higher life, where beneficent and unselfish work suitable to the fuller energy of heaven may be raised to greater perfection. 'My idea of Heaven,' he once remarked, 'is the perpetual ministry of one soul to another.'

On the page where it is stated that he had given his belief in 'In Memoriam,' a footnote refers the reader to Canto xxxvi., which is as follows :—

' Tho' truths in manhood darkly join,  
Deep-seated in our mystic frame,  
We yield all blessing to the name  
Of Him that made them current coin.  
  
' For Wisdom dealt with mortal powers,  
Where truth in closest words shall fail  
When truth embodied in a tale  
Shall enter in at lowly doors.

' And so the Word had breath and wrought  
With human hands, the creed of creeds  
In loveliness of perfect deeds,  
More strong than all poetic thought.

' Which he may read that binds the sheaf  
Or builds the house, or digs the grave,  
And those wild eyes that watch the wave  
In roarings round the coral reef.'

But the whole poem abounds with references to religious beliefs and to the future life, and to quote them would be an endless task.

References in his poems to prayer, and the power of it, are to be found in innumerable passages. We have the well-known lines from the 'Passing of Arthur,' commencing—

' More things are wrought by prayer  
Than this world dreams of.'

Also, two lines from the 'Higher Pantheism'—

' Speak to Him, thou, for He hears, and Spirit with Spirit can meet—  
Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.'

From Harold—

' —No help but prayer,  
A breath that flits beyond this iron world,  
And touches Him who made it.'

So Enoch Arden, when he tears himself away from his wife and children—

' Bow'd himself down, and in that mystery  
Where God-in-man is one with man-in-God,  
Pray'd for a blessing on his wife and babes  
Whatever came to him.'

Then, when he returns after his long exile and supposed death, to find his wife married to another, and his children owning another father, when he creeps up to gaze through the window of his own house on the happiness of his own fireside, when he realises that for him all happiness is gone for ever, and that to reveal his presence is to inflict a life-long misery on his wife and children, then—

' When the dead man come to life, beheld  
His wife, his wife no more, and saw the babe,  
Her's yet not his, upon the father's knee,

And all the warmth, the peace, the happiness,  
 And his own children tall and beautiful,  
 And him, that other, reigning in his place,  
 Lord of his rights and of his children's love,  
 Then he, tho' Miriam Lane had told him all,  
 Because things seen are mightier than things heard,  
 Stagger'd and shook holding the branch, and fear'd  
 To send abroad a shrill and terrible cry,  
 Which in one moment, like the blast of doom,  
 Would shatter all the happiness of the hearth.'

He turns away, and comes out upon the waste, and, falling  
 prone, he dug—

' His fingers into the wet earth, and pray'd  
 "Too hard to bear! Why did they take me thence?  
 Oh, God Almighty, Saviour, Thou  
 That didst uphold me on my lonely isle,  
 Uphold me, Father, in my loneliness  
 A little longer. Aid me, give me strength  
 Not to tell her, never to let her know,  
 Help me not to break in upon her peace.'

Later on, we are told that—

' His resolve  
 Upbore him, and firm faith, and evermore  
 Prayer from a living source within the will,  
 And beating up thro' all the bitter world,  
 Like fountains of sweet water in the sea,  
 Kept him a living soul.'

Rarely has a nobler conception of Christian manliness been  
 given to the world than that contained in this poem.

In 'Sea Dreams,' on the other hand, he attacks with splen-  
 did force that most loathsome form of evil, the religious  
 humbug. A poor city clerk has been induced by a sancti-  
 monious hypocrite to invest his savings in a rotten speculation.  
 The clerk gives his wife a description of his last interview  
 with him :—

" "My dearest friend  
 Have faith, have faith! We live by faith," said he,  
 "And all things work together for the good  
 Of those"—it makes me sick to quote him—last  
 Gript my hand hard, and with God-bless-you, went.'

A few lines further on we have an excellent piece of satire after the manner of Pope and Crabbe :—

‘ With all his conscience, and one eye askew,  
So false he partly took himself for true,  
Whose pious talk, when most his heart was dry,  
Made wet the crafty crowsfoot round his eye ;  
Who never naming God except for gain,  
So never took that useful name in vain.  
Made Him his catspaw and the Cross his tool,  
And Christ the bait to trap his dupe and fool ;  
Nor deeds of gift but gifts of grace he forged,  
And snakelike, slimed his victim ere he gorged,  
And oft at Bible meetings, o’er the rest  
Arising, did his holy oily best,  
Dropping the too rough H in Hell and Heaven,  
To spread the word by which himself had thriven.’

‘ So false, he partly took himself for true ’ is a splendid touch. Few, if any, are conscious hypocrites, but the habit of falseness has so destroyed their sense of truth that they are false without knowing it.

Indeed, the religious or moral aspect of Tennyson’s poetry has been recognised and criticised for some years. Thus Mons. Taine, in his *History of English Literature*, is quite conscious of the moral teaching of the Laureate’s work, but evidently thinks it a defect rather than a virtue. Brought up in the French school, he seems to be of opinion that genius must necessarily be more or less wicked, and virtue more or less vapid. He takes Tennyson as the favourite poet of England, and Alfred de Musset as that of France, and proceeds to contrast them. He adopts the curious plan of describing the life of England and the life of France, and of then showing how each poet represents and is suited to his own country. He describes the life of an English country gentleman, his fine estate, his luxurious home, his useful life among his dependents, his work as a magistrate and county magnate, his happy surroundings, ‘ The elegant society in which he moves, refined in comfort, regular in conduct, whose dilettante tastes and moral principles confine it within a sort of flowery border, and prevent it from having its tastes diverted.’ He then proceeds :—

'Does any poet suit such a society better than Tennyson? Without being a pedant, he is moral; he may be read in the family circle by night; he does not rebel against society and life; he speaks of God and the soul, nobly, tenderly, and without ecclesiastical prejudice; there is no need to reproach him like Lord Byron; he has no violent and abrupt words, excessive and scandalous sentiments; he will pervert nobody. We shall not be troubled when we close the book; we may listen when we quit him, without contrast, to the grave voice of the master of the house, who repeats the evening prayers before the kneeling servants. *And yet*, when we quit him, we keep a smile of pleasure on our lips.'

Mons. Taine is evidently much surprised to find that the reading of Tennyson can bring a smile of pleasure to our lips, *and yet* that no contrast is presented between the language of the poet and the word of God, and that while we kneel in prayer, conscience whispers no accusation of incongruity between our profession and our practice. It certainly would not have occurred to most Englishmen to suppose that there was any necessary or even probable incongruity between the reading of poetry and family prayers! Then we have contrasted with this picture of English life, a sketch of Paris and of France, which the poetry of Alfred de Musset is supposed to represent.

'Let us enter Paris,' says Mons. Taine. 'What a strange spectacle! It is evening, the streets are aflame, a luminous dust covers the busy noisy crowd, which jostles, elbows, crushes and swarms in front of the theatres, behind the windows of the cafés. Have you remarked how all these faces are wrinkled, frowning, or pale; how anxious are their looks, how nervous their gestures? . . . To find pleasure here they must have plenty of excitement; the dust of the boulevard settles on the ice which they are eating; the smell of the gas and steam of the pavement, the perspiration left on the walls dried up by the fever of a Parisian day, the human air of impure rattle—this is what they cheerfully breathe.'

Such, according to Mons. Taine, were the respective phases of life which inspired the poetry of Tennyson and of De Musset, and hence in his opinion comes the superiority of the former over the latter. It seems to us that an exactly opposite conclusion should be drawn. Granted that Mons. Taine's premises are correct, and that Tennyson is the representative of a pure and lovely country life, while De Musset has been inspired by the contemplation of such a ghastly picture of Paris, as Mons. Taine has sketched, it would be strange indeed



if the poet nourished on 'the human air of impure rattle' was not inferior to the poet of the refined and cultured atmosphere which Mons. Taine himself has painted in such glowing colours. But it is obvious that for the sake of drawing a vivid picture, the French critic has allowed himself to be betrayed into gross exaggeration. England does not consist solely or even chiefly of country squires of irreproachable character, who spend their lives attending to the wants of their beautiful estates, and their 'kneeling servants,' nor does France consist entirely of the dissipated idlers of Parisian boulevards. And a poet who wrote solely for either class would have a very limited circle of readers. In the case of Tennyson especially the description is singularly unfortunate. He is, we think, the poet of 'the masses' quite as much as of the 'classes.' 'In Memoriam' is a message addressed to every human being whatever his rank or position in life. 'The Idylls of the King' are fairy tales, and appeal to the imagination of all classes alike. 'Enoch Arden' is the history of a fisherman who was a noble gentleman. 'Locksley Hall' and 'Aylmer's Field' are fierce denunciations of 'the social wants which sin against the strength of youth.' Nowhere do we find the feeling of caste which is so prominent in, for instance, Lord Byron's poetry—the feeling expressed in such lines as—

' But let the wretch who toils  
Accuse not, hate not, him who wears the spoils.  
Ah ! if he knew the weight of splendid chains,  
How light the balance of his humbler pains !'

—*The Corsair.*

Tennyson is at the present time more popular and more widely read in England than any other poet, and in Scotland yields only to Burns, and this in spite of the fact that the works of other poets can be purchased for a trifling sum, while the price of Tennyson has been hitherto almost prohibitory to the poorer classes. One reason of his popularity is no doubt that as a rule his meaning is clearly expressed, and unlike Browning easily understood. The beauty of some of his best passages consists in their perfect simplicity—such passages as—

'But open converse is there none,  
 So much the vital spirits sink,  
 To see the vacant chair and think  
 How good! How kind! And he is gone.'

It is indeed an extraordinary proof of the poet's power that a poem such as 'In Memoriam,' entirely devoid of incident or of story, extending to 132 cantos, and abounding in philosophic thought, should be so popular and so widely read as it is. The contrast between a French and an English view of 'In Memoriam' is well illustrated by the two following quotations. Mons. Taine, who, indeed, shows himself quite incapable of appreciating Tennyson, says:—

'The long poem of "In Memoriam," written in praise of and memory of a friend who died young, is cold, monotonous, and often too prettily arranged. He goes into mourning; but like a correct gentleman with brand-new gloves, wipes away his tears with a cambric handkerchief, and displays throughout the religious service which ends the ceremony all the compunction of a respectful and well-trained layman.'

Dr. Bayne, on the other hand, in a sympathetic and appreciative notice of Tennyson contained in *Lessons from my Masters*, says:—

'I conceive that this monumental and superlative poem has done more than any literary performance of the nineteenth century to express and to consolidate all that is best in the life of England, its domestic affection, its healthful morality, its national and earnest religion. Happy the nation whose accepted and greatest poet thus voices its deepest instincts.'

'Next to the Bible,' said the Queen, speaking to Tennyson, "'In Memoriam" is my comfort.\*' The *Memoir* shows that the opinions of the best judges coincide with those of Dr. Bayne and of Her Majesty.

Not even the most hostile critic can deny the beauty of Tennyson's language and style. If he has a fault in that respect, it is over-elaboration and too much polishing. He took enormous pains to perfect his poems before publishing; while in subsequent editions, he endeavoured with true magnanimity to profit by any criticisms worthy of attention, omitting passages and altering freely such poems as had

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\* Vol. I., p. 485.

appeared. He was keenly alive to censure, and at first suffered greatly from unjust and foolish criticism. Indeed he seems to have paid a great deal too much attention to it, and on some occasions gave effect to it, by making alterations which were not improvements. Thus in deference to the opinion of some critical friends he omitted from the 'Charge of the Light Brigade,' the line—

'Some-one had blundered.'

Mr. Ruskin thereupon wrote to him regretting the omission and saying: 'It was precisely the most tragical line in the poem. It is as true to its history as essential to its tragedy.'\* The line was afterwards re-inserted. In 'Lady Clara Vere de Vere,' the line—

'The grand old gardener and his wife,'

was in subsequent editions altered to

'The gardener Adam and his wife,'

which does not seem an improvement.

In 'A Dream of Fair Women,' the poet in the first edition puts the following verse into the mouth of Iphigenia—

'The tall masts flicker'd as they lay afloat,  
The temples and the people and the shore;  
One drew a sharp knife through my tender throat,  
Slowly—and nothing more.'

Upon this a writer in the *Quarterly Review* remarked, 'What touching simplicity! What genuine pathos! *He cut my throat—nothing more!* One might indeed ask what more she would have?'

Upon this Tennyson altered the last two lines to this—

'The bright death quiver'd at the victim's throat,  
Touched; and I knew no more.'

This is perhaps a slight improvement but the criticism was certainly beneath notice. A child would understand that 'nothing more' in the first version simply meant 'after that—I knew no more.'

The first edition of 'Aylmer's Field' ended with the two following lines—

' There the thin weasel with faint hunting-cry  
Follows the mouse, and all is open field.'

In order to be certain that this description was correct he took the trouble to consult the Duke of Argyll, for he writes to him thus—

' I have not heard of any weasels crying in the chase after a mouse, nor where it is a solitary hunter of anything. But I am assured by those who have heard them that when they join in the chase after *great* game, such as a rabbit (even tho' there should be no more than two), they not unfrequently utter their faint hunting-cry. I suppose the size of the victim excites them. I never see the *Field*. Would it be worth while writing thereto on this matter?'

Apparently, however, he had not been able to verify the statement for in subsequent editions the words are changed to—

' The slow-worm creeps, and the thin weasel there  
Follows the mouse, and all is open field.'

The incident shows how much trouble he took to make his work entirely accurate. Sometimes his marvellous power of word-painting was the occasion of very ill-founded criticism. Thus he relates the following anecdote about himself \*

' When I was about 20 or 21, I went on a tour to the Pyrenees. Lying among these mountains before a waterfall that comes down one thousand or twelve hundred feet, I sketched it (according to my custom then) in these words—

"Slow-dropping veils of thinnest lawn."

When I printed this, a critic informed me that "lawn" was the material used in theatres to imitate a waterfall, and graciously added, "Mr. T. should not go to the boards of a theatre, but to Nature herself for his suggestions." And I *had* gone to Nature herself.'

The comparison, therefore, which seemed to Tennyson as most fitting to convey to his readers the appearance of a waterfall is the same as that which it appears stage-managers have long ago found to be best from actual experience. The incident is a tribute to the poet's power of description. Partly no doubt from careful cultivation, but chiefly from his own genius, he

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\* Vol. I., p. 259.

can change his style as completely as his subject, and in the art of word-painting he is an accomplished master. He chooses his words with the care and talent with which an artist mixes his paints, and he seems to have an instinctive perception for the right word in the right place. He has a wonderful power of suiting his style to his subject, as in 'Half a league, half a league, half a league onward,' where we almost hear the galloping of the horses, or in the 'Northern Farmer,' where the words 'propully, propully, propully,' admirably suggest the cantering of the pony. As a contrast of different styles, and as showing his wonderful versatility, take the following descriptions of a dreary daybreak in a wet street in town and a perfect afternoon in the country in May, the former from 'In Memoriam,' the latter from 'The Gardener's Daughter':—

'He is not here but far away,  
The noise of life begins again ;  
And ghastly through the drizzling rain,  
On the bald street, breaks the blank day.'

'All the land in flowery squares,  
Beneath a broad and equal-blowing wind,  
Smelt of the coming summer as one large cloud  
Drew downward. . . . The steer forgot to graze,  
And where the hedge-row cut the pathway stood,  
Leaning his horns into the neighbour field  
And lowing to his fellows. From the woods  
Came voices of the well-contented doves ;  
The lark could scarce get out his notes for joy,  
But shook his song together as he near'd  
His happy home, the ground. To left and right  
The cuckoo told his name to all the hills,  
The mellow ouzel fluted in the elm,  
The redcap whistled ; and the nightingale  
Sang loud, as tho' he were the bird of day.'

Some of his lines are full of epigram and antithesis and have already acquired immortality. Such are :—

'His honour rooted in dishonour stood,  
And faith, unfaithful, kept him falsely true.'

'In me there dwells  
No greatness, save it be some far-off touch  
Of greatness to know well I am not great.'



'Forgive! How many will say forgive and find  
A sort of absolution in the sound  
To hate a little longer.'

'A lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with outright;  
But a lie which is part of a truth, is a harder matter to fight.'

'It is the low man thinks the woman low.  
Sin is so dull: it cannot see beyond itself.'

'Unfaith in aught is want of faith in all.

It is the little rift within the lute  
That by and by will make the music mute  
And ever widening slowly silence all.'

No poem of Tennyson's met with such varying criticism or was the subject of such fierce discussion as 'Maud.' Coming as it did five years after 'In Memoriam,' the smaller critics were not prepared for such a complete change of style, and thought there must be something wrong with what they did not understand. It is indeed impossible to imagine two poems more unlike each other than 'In Memoriam' and 'Maud,' and it was perhaps natural that some of the keenest admirers of the former should hesitate before pronouncing approval of the latter. But the most competent judges commended it from the beginning, while a few who had condemned it at first, afterwards solemnly recanted and declared their error. Among these were Mr. Gladstone, Dr. Bayne and Dr. Van Dyke. Mr. Gladstone, speaking of his own review of 'Maud' in the *Quarterly* in 1855, says, 'I have neither done justice in the text to its rich and copious beauties of detail, nor to its great lyrical and metrical power. And what is worse, I have failed to comprehend rightly the relation between particular passages in the poem and its general scope.' Of this apology or recantation by Mr. Gladstone, Tennyson remarked that 'no one but a noble-minded man' would have made it. On the other hand, Henry Taylor, Jowett and the Brownings at once expressed their approval and delight. Jowett wrote, 'I want to tell you how greatly I admire "Maud." No poem since Shakespeare seems to show equal power of the same kind, or equal knowledge of human nature. No modern poem contains more lines that ring in the ears of men. I do not know any

verse out of Shakespeare in which the ecstasy of love soars to such a height.' Swinburne says, "'Maud' is the poem of the deepest charm and fullest delight, pathos and melody ever written even by Mr. Tennyson.' Of the part which describes the feelings of the hero when in a state of lunacy, one of the best-known doctors for the insane wrote that it was 'the most faithful representation of madness since Shakespeare.' Tennyson himself, as we learn from the *Memoir*, had a high opinion of 'Maud,' and it seems to have been one of his favourites for recitation. It was indeed considered suitable for that purpose by others also, for the *Memoir*\* relates an amusing story of an American working-man who came all the way from America in order to let Tennyson have the privilege of hearing him recite 'Maud.' The poet went through the ordeal, but 'suffered from the recitation,' and paid the man's passage back to America.

It is now generally admitted that 'Maud' is entitled to a high place among the poet's other works. The constant changes of style are admirably fitted to the changes in the story. At first we have a pitiful picture of a gloomy young misanthrope to whom fate has been too hard, living alone and eating his heart out in solitary misery and hatred of the whole human race. He lives close to the ghastly pit where—

'Long since a body was found  
His who had given me life. O father! O God was it well?  
Mangled, and flatten'd, and crushed, and dented into the ground,  
There yet lies the rock that fell with him when he fell.'

Then come four lines of almost ghastly realism describing a child awakened in the night by the 'trailing' sound of his dead father's body being carried in.

'I remember the time for the roots of my hair were stirr'd  
By a shuffled step, by a dead weight trail'd, by a whispered fright  
And my pulses closed their gates with a shock on my heart as I heard  
The shrill-edged shriek of a mother divide the shuddering night.'

Further on comes a hint of the light that is about to break upon him.

'I have heard I know not whence of the singular beauty of Maud.'

Gradually his mind changes from morbid gloom to growing light,—a change which is reflected in the different manner in which Nature presents itself to him. At first

‘The wind like a broken wordling wail’d,’

and the music of the sea is only the

‘Scream of a madden’d beach dragged down by the wave.’

On the next page comes a change.

‘A million emeralds break from the ruby-budded lime’

—an exquisite description of the young green leaf pushing through the pink bud. Then the birds begin to sing and even flowers to speak. At length his happiness is achieved.

‘I have led her home, my love, my only friend.’

‘Let no one ask me how it came to pass;  
It seems that I am happy, that to me  
A livelier emerald twinkles in the grass,  
A purer sapphire melts into the sea.’

Instead of

‘The scream of a madden’d beach, dragged down by the wave,’

we now have

‘The enchanted moan,

Only the swell of the long waves that roll in yonder bay.’

Then comes the catastrophe in the garden after the ball, when the lover and the brother quarrel and afterwards fight, in accordance with

‘The Christless code  
That must have life for a blow.’

In his exile on the Breton coast, he hears of Maud’s death, and expresses his feelings in what seems to us some of the most exquisite lines the poet ever wrote, commencing—

‘Oh that ’twere possible, after long grief and pain.’

The publication of ‘Maud’ was followed in 1859 by the ‘Idylls of the King,’ which was at once an enormous success, and received very little hostile criticism. Ten thousand copies were sold in the first week, and hundreds more sold weekly. Thackeray wrote, ‘I have had out of that dear book the greatest delight that has ever come to me since I was a young man,’ and asks, ‘How can you at 50 be doing things as well

as at 35?' (He little thought that the person addressed would be writing poetry for 33 more years). Jowett wrote, 'It struck me what a great number of lines—

'He makes no friends who never made a foe,"

"Then trust me not at all, or all in all,"

will pass current on the lips of men, which I always regard as a great test of excellence, for it is saying the thing that everybody feels.\* If Tennyson be judged by this test of excellence he certainly stands only second to Shakespeare in this country. In certain plays of the great dramatist, most of all in 'Hamlet,' one is amazed to find how constantly well-known lines occur. But precisely the same familiarity is experienced in reading Tennyson, only it is not merely with single lines but with whole poems, such as, 'Lady Clara Vere de Vere,' the 'May Queen,' 'Crossing the Bar,' etc. 'Hamlet' is undoubtedly the best-known and the most popular of all Shakespeare's plays, and if Tennyson be right in pronouncing it, as he does, 'the greatest creation in literature I know of'† the fact that it is so popular goes far to prove both the virtue of the public judgment and the consequent merit of Tennyson's own poetry.

In later editions of the 'Idylls of the King' there is now prefixed a Dedication to the memory of Prince Consort, which is one of the poet's best pieces of work, especially in view of the difficulty of the task. The days are long gone by, when all that a Poet-Laureate had to do in such a case, was to paint the object of his adulation in sufficiently glowing colours and with unsparing flattery. Perfect taste is now a *sine qua non* in dealing with such a subject, and all the more necessary because the Prince had not been so popular as he deserved to be. This is faintly hinted in the lines—

'We know him now : all narrow jealousies

Are silent ; and we see him as he moved.'

Further on comes a passage as well-known as any in Hamlet—

'Wearing the white flower of a blameless life,  
Before a thousand peering littlenesses,  
In that fierce light which beats upon a throne.'

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\* Vol. I., 449.

† Vol. II., 291.

The 'Idylls' are more highly polished and probably more distinctive of Tennyson's style than any of his other poems. They abound in lines that, as Jowett said, pass current on men's lips such as the song 'Late, late, so late,' etc. It is somewhat amusing to find the poet's mother—a lady apparently of deeply religious but narrow views—writing to him \* that it gives her 'the purest satisfaction to notice that a spirit of Christianity is perceptible through the whole volume,' evidently implying that as much could not be said of the other poems, including 'In Memoriam,' which had preceded it. It may be that the religious views, if any, expressed in the 'Idylls' are more orthodox than those of 'In Memoriam,' but it seems to us that 'Vivien' is the only work of the poet in which he has somewhat fallen from his own lofty standard of the highest Christian purity. Of the others, while all are good, 'Guinevere' is, we think, the best. Nothing can be finer than the description of Arthur's last meeting with Guinevere in the convent, whither she has fled—how she falls prostrate at his approach—

'And grovell'd with her face against the floor,  
Then, with her milk-white arms and shadowy hair,  
She made her face a darkness from the King,  
And in the darkness heard his armed feet  
Pause by her; then came silence, then a voice,  
Monotonous and hollow like a ghost's,  
Denouncing judgment, but tho' changed, the King's.'

After showing her, 'ev'n for her own sake,' the sin which she has sinned, he continues—

'Yet think not that I come to urge thy crimes.  
I did not come to curse thee, Guinevere.  
I, whose vast pity almost makes me die  
To see thee laying there thy golden head,  
My pride in happier summers, at my feet.'

His wrath and pangs are partly past.

'And all is past, the sin is sinn'd, and I,  
Lo! I forgive thee, as Eternal God  
Forgives; do thou for thine own soul the rest.'

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\* Vol. I., p. 452.



' And while she grovell'd at his feet,  
She felt the King's breath wander o'er her neck,  
And in the darkness o'er her fallen head  
Perceived the waving of his hands that blest.'

He goes.

' Then she stretched out her arms and cried aloud,  
"Oh Arthur,"—then her voice breaks suddenly.  
Then, as a stream that, spouting from a cliff,  
Falls in mid-air, but, gathering at the base,  
Re-makes itself, and flashes down the vale—  
Went on in passionate utterance :

"Gone—my lord !

Gone thro' my sin to slay and to be slain !  
And he forgave me, and I could not speak  
Farewell ! I should have answered his farewell.  
His mercy choked me.

Ab, my God !

What might I not have made of thy fair world  
Had I but loved thy highest creature here ?"

On the publication of this poem, a reviewer in the *Scotsman*—now known to be one who, if he had lived, would have held high office in the State—wrote in terms which we do not think exaggerated :—

' Before poetry like this—filling the soul with a sense of sorrow too great for tears, of love which cannot die, of forgiveness as the forgiveness of heaven, of heroism under an inevitable doom, and of repentance late yet not in vain—the language of ordinary praise becomes impertinence. This short poem of Guinevere seems to us to be not only the best thing Mr. Tennyson has done, but to be an effort of genius which would do honour to the proudest names in literature.'

It is, of course, impossible to notice or even to mention, all of Tennyson's work, especially as a large portion of it consists of short single poems, in which perhaps he shows his power as much as in any other. But the 'Princess' must be mentioned as a work of importance, though appearing as it did in 1847, before the poet's reputation had been established by 'In Memoriam,' it did not receive the same amount of attention and criticism as his subsequent publications. Who but Tennyson could have handled such a theme so well ? If one were asked to name a subject more difficult than another for a poet to touch, without descending to farce, it would be the vexed

question, familiarly termed 'Women's Rights.' The very name raises a smile; yet Tennyson has made a poem on it, which not only contains nothing foolish, but is as powerful and graceful as the rest of his work. The songs, which constantly recur throughout the poem, especially "Tears, idle tears," are exquisitely pretty, though they have become painfully hackneyed through being set to music.

We have seen that Thackeray expressed his surprise that Tennyson should write as well at 50 as at 35. It was no wonder that, when it was known that, at the age of 66, he was about for the first time to publish a play, it was 'thought to be a hazardous experiment.' Yet 'Queen Mary' was an undoubted success. Froude wrote: 'When we were beginning to think that we were to have no more from you, you have given us the greatest of all your works.' Such praise from the historian of the very period with which 'Queen Mary' deals is a high tribute to the historical accuracy of the play, but it seems to us absurd to contend that 'Queen Mary,' as a play, stands as high as 'In Memoriam' as a poem, and to call it 'the greatest of all your works' is surely exaggeration. Probably it was more deeply interesting to Froude than to others because the time and the characters in the play were already so well known to him. Robert Browning also wrote: 'It is astonishingly fine. Conception, execution, the whole and the parts. I see nowhere the shade of a fault. Thank you once again.' A play may be looked at in two different ways—as something to be read, and as something to be acted. It may be poetry of the most exquisite nature, and yet as a drama to be acted on the stage be a failure. From the former point of view, 'Queen Mary,' and indeed all his plays, are worthy of the reputation of the poet. From the latter point of view, they cannot, with the exception of 'Becket' in England, and of 'The Foresters' in America, be pronounced a great success, and it is doubtful if any of them will be revived upon the stage. This only proves what one would expect that Tennyson's powers as a poet were greater than as a dramatist. As regards 'Becket,' however, Irving wrote \* that, 'as

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\* Vol. II., p. 195.

adapted by him, and as a stage-tragedy, it was one of the three most successful plays produced by him at the Lyceum.' The beauty of Tennyson's teaching appears in his plays as much as in his poems. Thus Irving—surely the most competent of judges—writes in 1893: 'To me "Becket" is a very noble play, with something of that lofty feeling and that far-reaching influence which belong to a "passion play." . . . Some of the scenes and passages, especially in the last act, are full of sublime feeling, and are, with regard to both their dramatic effectiveness and their poetic beauty, as fine as anything in our language. I know that such a play has an ennobling influence on both the audience who see it, and the actors who play in it.' 'The Foresters,' which was produced New York by Daly, in March, 1892, was also a great success, and Miss Ada Rehan wrote about it to Tennyson in terms somewhat similar—'Let me thank you for myself for the honour of playing your "Maid Marian," which I have learned to love, for while I am playing the part, I feel all its beauty and simplicity and sweetness, which make me feel for the time a happier and a better woman. I am indeed proud of its great success for your sake as well as my own.\*' Tennyson was also greatly pleased by a letter addressed to Miss Helen Faucit by the eminent Shakespearian scholar, Mr. Horace Furness, in which he says, after seeing 'The Foresters'—'It was charming, charming from beginning to end. . . And to see the popularity too! I do revel, I confess, in such a proof as this that there will always be a full response to what is fine and good, and that the modern sensational French drama is not our true exponent.'

But whatever may be the merits of 'Becket' and 'The Foresters' for stage purposes, 'Queen Mary' is far above all the other plays if viewed merely as poetry. We have only space for one quotation—a few beautiful lines describing Cranmer leaving the church of St. Mary's at Oxford on his way to the stake:—

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\* Vol. II., p. 396.

'He pass'd out smiling, and he walk'd upright;  
 His eye was like a soldier's, whom the general  
 He looks to and leans on as his God,  
 Hath rated him for some backwardness, and bidd'n him  
 Charge one against a thousand, and the man  
 Hurls his soil'd life against the pikes and dies.'

'But Cranmer as the helmsman at the helm  
 Steers, ever looking to the happy haven  
 When he shall rest at night, moved to his death.'

We have made little reference to the details of the poet's life which are given in the *Memoir* as they are only of passing interest. But we have endeavoured to give some idea of the opinions \* of Tennyson's works expressed by those most competent to judge, for from them we may learn what the poet's rank in literature is likely to be. Dr. Bayne, speaking of 'Aylmer's Field,' says: 'In this poem Tennyson has reaped the highest honour man can attain, namely, that of adding to the Scripture of his country; nor should I think it a much less dark or pernicious error than the pride which caused all this woe' (i.e., the pride of the worldly parents in the poem) 'to hold that the Almighty could speak only through or to Jewish seers, and that there is no true inspiration in such writing as this.' Without entering on the delicate question of Biblical inspiration, which seems slightly irrelevant, it is of interest to note the profound admiration created in the mind of the writer by Tennyson's poetry. But we prefer Mr. Gladstone's description of the poet, as one who has 'raised the intellects and hearts of his fellow-creatures to a higher level, and by so doing has acquired a deathless fame.' These two eulogies show what a passionate admiration Tennyson's poetry aroused among his contemporaries. His pure and lofty teaching has a wide range of popularity, covering very different views and very different natures. Yet we think that everyone of his readers, of all classes, of all dispositions, and of all ages will endorse Mr. Gladstone's encomium, and will admit not only that he himself has derived the highest intellectual pleasure, but also that he is a better man from having read and studied

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\* Opinions gathered not merely from the *Memoir* but elsewhere.

Alfred Tennyson. If mere intellectual pleasure is not sufficient, if the heart also must be raised to a higher level by true poetry, then surely the Laureate has already acquired the 'deathless fame' which is its reward. 'Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely,'—truth, honesty, purity, loveliness,—such seem to have been Tennyson's guiding-stars in the composition of his work.

J. EDWARD GRAHAM.

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ART. III.—ANNALS OF A PUBLISHING HOUSE.

*William Blackwood and His Sons : Their Magazine and Friends.*  
By Mrs. OLIPHANT. Two Volumes. Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons, 1897.

THE history of a great publishing house is practically a part of the history of literature. The two bulky volumes before us, therefore, though containing only a part of the history of the publishing house of Messrs. William Blackwood & Sons, have not only a commercial and a biographical interest, they have also a measure of that larger and more permanent interest which belongs to literature as the reflection of the thoughts, sentiments, and opinions of the human mind which constitutes its chief value for the history of a nation or of the race. In this latter respect these two volumes are specially important. Almost from the first the history of the house whose transactions they record, has been bound up with the history of a great and popular Magazine which during a long series of years has been conducted with remarkable success, and has had for its contributors some of the most brilliant writers of the period, who, while seeking in its pages to gratify the tastes of its numerous readers, have done much to shape their opinions. As indices to the thoughts and sentiments of a nation there is perhaps none surer than that which is afforded by the magazines it reads. With few exceptions, they are



first, if not chiefly, commercial undertakings; they may aim at a high standard of literary excellence; but their success and their existence are measured precisely by the extent to which they meet and satisfy the tastes and literary requirements of the public for which they cater; and perhaps there is no surer guide to the literary history of the English speaking race during the greater part of the present century than the pages of *Maga* when read in the light thrown upon them by the two volumes to which we are now referring.

There is another and pathetic interest attaching to these volumes. They were begun with enthusiasm and in hope, but unfortunately the accomplished authoress, who for so long a time occupied an honoured and conspicuous place in English letters and for forty years had worked incessantly for the Magazine whose story she was recording, was not permitted to complete the work she had in hand, or even to put the necessary finishing touches to what she had written. While still in the act of revising, and before the revision could be carried beyond the first volume, death arrested her hand and closed a 'long and strenuous literary life' to which there have been few equals. From the first she seems to have been drawn towards the Blackwoods by feelings of affectionate regard, and there are few passages more touching or beautiful than the one in which she records her interview with the heads of the firm when her own fortunes had reached a crisis. It is one of the last she wrote, and goes back to the winter of 1860, when she had just buried her husband in Italy and temporarily settled in Edinburgh with her little family of three fatherless children.' 'I was poor,' she says, 'having only my own exertions to depend on, though always possessing an absolute-foolish courage (so long as the children were well, my one formula) in life and providence. But I had not been doing well.' The contributions to the magazine which she had kept on sending from Italy were not always inserted. They had been, 'as I can see through the revelations of the Blackwood letters, pushed about from pillar to post, these kind-hearted men not willing to reject what they knew to be so important to me, yet caring but little for them, using them when

there happened to be a scarcity of material, and after my return things were little better.' And then, after remarking 'several of my articles were rejected and affairs began to look very dark for me,' she continues—

'Why I should have formed the idea that in these circumstances, when there was every appearance that my literary gift, such as it was, was failing me, they would be likely to entertain a proposal from me for a serial story, I can now scarcely tell; but I was rash and in need. At the time I was living in Fettes Row, in a little house consisting of the ground-floor and the basement below, a rather forlorn locality, but commanding a wide prospect—only, it is true, of houses and waste land, but also of a great deal of sky and air, always particularly agreeable to me. I walked up to George Street, up the steep hill, with my heart beating, not knowing (though I might very well have divined) what they would say to me. There was, indeed, only one thing they could say. They shook their heads: they were very kind, very unwilling to hurt the feelings of the poor young woman, with the heavy widow's veil hanging about her like a cloud. No; they did not think it was possible. I remember very well how they stood against the light, the Major tall and straight, John Blackwood with his shoulders hunched up in his more careless bearing, embarrassed and troubled by what they saw and no doubt guessed in my face, while on my part every faculty was absorbed in the desperate pride of a woman not to let them see me cry, to keep in until I could get out of their sight. I remember, also, the walk down the hill, and a horrible organ that played "Charlie is my darling," and how one line of the song came into my mind, "The wind was at his back." The wind, alas! was not at my back, I reflected, but strong in my face, both really and metaphorically, the keen north-east that hurries up these slopes as if it would blow every fragile thing away.

'I went home to find my little ones all gay and sweet, and was occupied by them for the rest of the day in a sort of cheerful despair—distraught, yet as able to play as ever (which they say is a part of a woman's natural duplicity and dissimulation). But when they had all gone to bed, and the house was quiet, I sat down—and I don't know when, or if at all, I went to bed that night; but next day (I think) I had finished and sent up to the dread tribunal in George Street a short story, which was the beginning of a series of stories called the *Chronicles of Carlingford*.'

These stories, she adds, 'set me up at once, and established my footing in the world.' To the present generation of readers they are probably not so well known as they deserve to be. They may not in all points be equal to George Eliot's *Scenes of a Clerical Life*; but they have excellences of their own, and in their own way are unsurpassed. The present writer very

well remembers the sensation their first appearance created and the eagerness with which succeeding numbers were looked for. They did indeed 'establish' her 'footing in the world,' a footing which she never lost, and began a career to which the *Annals of the Publishing House*, to whose chiefs she owed so much and was so gratefully attached, would, had she been permitted to finish them, have formed, as she herself felt, a fitting completion, while, as they stand, with all the melancholy interest attaching to a posthumous work about them, they show that up to the last her hand had not lost its cunning nor her heart its fervour.

William Blackwood, the founder of the firm of William Blackwood & Sons, a shrewd man of business, a genial friend, a good letter writer, intensely interested in whatever he took in hand, proud of 'ma Maga,' *Ebony*, as both he and his Magazine were frequently and indifferently called, was the son of an Edinburgh burgess, and was born on the 26th November, 1776. In 1790 he was apprenticed to Messrs. Bell & Bradfute, a firm of Booksellers in Parliament Square, Edinburgh, beside the Law Courts, where he had frequent opportunities of coming in contact with the judges and advocates and with the professors of the College in the immediate neighbourhood, who seem to have been in the habit of dropping into the shop to turn over the new books and to discuss them. He made no heroic attempts at self-culture by attending classes in the University during his apprenticeship, but gave his attention wholly to business. Constable was then at the head of 'the Trade' in Edinburgh, and combined with his publishing business that of a dealer in books old and new. Bibliomania was then in the air, and young Blackwood was soon smitten with it. Messrs. Bell & Bradfute's was a favourable place for its development, and by keeping his eyes and wits about him, noting what was said and done by the more important customers, over which volumes the great men of the College pored, and which the general public in their lighter examination tossed aside, he soon learned to know what was really curious and valuable, and to make that astute distinc-

tion between what is likely to be popular and what is not—a rare and invaluable gift, which in after life formed one of his chief characteristics, and has descended to his sons—a gift that does not, as Mrs. Oliphant observes, ‘depend on mere literary perception and taste, for sometimes the public will prefer the best and sometimes the worst, and very frequently, indeed, picks up something between the two, by some fantastic rule of selection which never has been fathomed by any man but a heaven-born publisher.’

At the conclusion of his apprenticeship, young Blackwood was sent to Glasgow to act as the agent of Messrs. Mundell & Co., an Edinburgh publishing firm which is now forgotten, though its failure, in after years, created almost a panic in ‘the Trade,’ and brought down with it several smaller houses. Incidentally we learn that Messrs. Mundell & Co. were the publishers of Campbell’s *Pleasures of Hope*, and that the price Campbell received for it was fifty copies of the printed work! While in Glasgow, young Blackwood is supposed to have attended classes in the University, which he may have done, since the premises of Messrs. Mundell & Co. were within the precincts of the Old College; but whether he did or not, while attending to the business of his agency, he seems to have been doing a little on his own account. In the first of his known letters—a letter addressed to Mr. Constable—he assures his correspondent that it is not a trouble, but a pleasure, ‘to pick up books,’ and sends him a list of some he has managed ‘to pick up.’ They are all more or less curious, and, with some exceptions, are priced. Among them is Sir David Lyndesay’s *Ane Dialog betwix Experience and ane Courteour*, Imprintet at the Command and Expensis of Dr. Machabeus in Copenhagen, of which he says, ‘It is a small quarto black-letter. It is certainly a great curiosity, and though I was not sure of its value, I paid pretty high for it.’ The last in his list is *Gildae de Excidio et Conquesta Britanniae, etc., Epistola*, 18mo, J. Daius, Lond. 1568, to which he adds the note: ‘This, I believe, is a scarce little book, but I cannot see it in any catalogue, so I leave the price to yourself.’ Constable was still buying and

selling libraries, and undertaking their arrangement and regulation, when he began the publication of the Waverley Novels.

After a year's stay in Glasgow, young Blackwood returned to Edinburgh. At first he went back to his old employers, but was soon in partnership with a certain Robert Ross, 'a bookseller and bookseller's auctioneer'—a description, as Mrs. Oliphant observes, which explains some of the early catalogues he put forth. This partnership lasted only a year, at the end of which he went up to London and joined the establishment of Mr. Cuthill, who was famous for his catalogues, and remained there three years, probably assisting Cuthill in the compilation of his catalogues, and doubtless extending his own knowledge. Probably, as Mrs. Oliphant remarks, 'he had dreams already of publishing, of finding some man of great genius to attach himself to, and of making the welkin ring with the name of Blackwood, then so humble and so little known.' If he had, we suppose he was not unlike other aspirants in the publishing business, whether ancient or modern.

In 1804 he returned to Edinburgh for good, and started business on his own account on the South Bridge, a situation which, being not far from either the College or Parliament House, was not badly chosen. He both bought and sold books, and undertook commissions to arrange and classify and value gentlemen's libraries. Constable, as we have seen, was doing the same, and had been for many years. Apparently it was regarded as one of the shortest cuts to fortune. The book-hunter was then abroad both in Scotland and in England, 'often,' as Mrs. Oliphant phrases it, 'in the most unlikely places, hungry for his prey.' 'Heber was prowling about Edinburgh in any place that promised discovery of a forgotten volume, and Dibdin in England was busy with his work on the purchase of old books and their value and classification.'

On his marriage in 1805 to Miss Janet Steuart, the daughter of Mr. Steuart of Carfin in Lanarkshire, Mr. Blackwood set up house in one of the streets on the South-side of Edinburgh, but within a year removed to a house of his own, 'in one of the leafy roads of Newington, with a wide view from the windows over the surrounding country, a pleasant garden, and



those large rooms and airy passages which are the charm of Edinburgh houses.' Here his children were born. The pleasantness of the home over which he here presided is proved, Mrs. Oliphant remarks, 'with a very tender pathos by the many pilgrimages made to it still (1895) by the last survivor, Miss Isabella Blackwood, to whom the image of "my Father" still seems to smile benignant over the mists of eighty years.'

As for business in these early years, it was quiet. Book-hunters and others, and among them no less an individual than Sir Walter, began to gather around the young bookseller in increasing numbers; but there was no great rush of success. Still there was steady progress and hopeful prospects. Rivals there were in plenty, all of whom were 'somewhat rash in the rush of new energy which had revolutionised "the Trade," bold in their ventures, and entertaining a faith in literature which has been much subdued since then.'

'In those days there was a certain spirit of daring and romance in "the Trade." The Revival of Literature was like the opening of a new mine; it was more than that, a sort of manufactory out of nothing, to which there seemed no limit. You had but to set a man of genius spinning at that shining thread which came from nowhere, which required no purchase of materials or "plant" of machinery, and your fortune was made. We remember that, later, Constable went gravely to the Bank of England to negotiate a loan upon the sole security of the unwritten books to be drawn from the brain of the author of "Waverley." This confidence had seemed justified by long experience, and it was the very breath of the eager booksellers, on tiptoe to find in the first young gentleman who came into their shop with a manuscript in his pocket another Scott, or perhaps a Byron, ready to take the world by storm. "Abandoning the old timid and grudging system, he stood out as the general patron and payer of all promising publications, and confounded not only his rivals in trade, but his very authors by his unheard-of prices," says Lord Cockburn, speaking of Constable. "Ten, even twenty guineas a sheet for a review, £2000 or £3000 for a single poem, and £1000 for two philosophical dissertations, drew authors out of their dens, and made Edinburgh a literary mart famous with strangers, and the pride of its own citizens." It was in one great case a sort of madness while it lasted, and brought its natural catastrophe: but the result in others was much prosperity and success, and in the first stage it stimulated every brain, and half convinced the world that Poetry, Romance, Philosophy, and even Criticism, were the first crafts, and the most profitable in the world.'

In the midst of this excitement Blackwood alone of the Edinburgh booksellers kept a comparatively cool head. No doubt he had his hopes and expectations, and was always looking for the 'man of great genius' to turn up; but he was not rash like Ballantyne or Constable, and was the only man 'who may be said to have permanently mastered fortune.' One of the first of his publications to call attention to his name was a catalogue of which he was himself the author. It contained some 15,000 volumes, and was so admirably arranged that it brought not only orders, but a number of the most friendly letters. Sir Walter Scott wrote from Abbotsford, "I am greatly obliged to you for your attention in forwarding your curious and interesting catalogue. I am here ruining myself with plumbing and building; so that adding to my library is in fact burning the candle at both ends. But I am somewhat comforted by observing that the increased value of books has nearly doubled the prime cost of my little collection and proved me a wise man when I had much reason to account myself a fool." Dibdin also wrote, and, like Sir Walter, enclosed an order, while from Mr. John Murray there came a letter in which he said: 'Your Catalogue I hear incessantly praised by Heber as the head of many others; it does great credit to you in many respects.'

Some months before that, however, Blackwood had received a letter from the great publishing magnate in London of a much more important nature. In it he was appointed Murray's Edinburgh agent in room of Ballantyne, with whose mode of doing business Murray, after a short trial, had become thoroughly dissatisfied. In Edinburgh the appointment was regarded as one of the prizes of 'the Trade,' and its acquisition by Blackwood may be said to have formed one of the critical moments in his business. The relations between the two firms did not always work smoothly; considering the characters of the two men it was scarcely to be expected that they should; still the association at once raised the young bookseller—for such was the name by which publishers were then known—to the first rank and, as the saying is, was 'good for his business.' He had already begun to publish cautiously on his own

account, the most conspicuous of his early publications being McCrie's *Life of John Knox*, a work which, chiefly on account of the new point of view from which Queen Mary was represented, caused at first much commotion, and though somewhat one-sided and antiquated and not always to be trusted, is not yet entirely superseded. To the London agency was soon added another, the news of which Blackwood communicated to Murray in the following letter:—

‘John Ballantyne has transferred to me all his retail customers, and makes me his retail publisher here. This will be of very great use to me, as it interests Walter Scott deeply in all my concerns. I have, of course, a stock of all their books, and will therefore be able to supply you with any new book of theirs 5 per cent. below sale. If you want any 8vo “Rokeby” when ready, please write me. They have just published a very pretty poem, “Triermain,” which Jeffrey talks of in the highest terms, and is to review in the next number of the “Edinburgh.” I have sent you 20 copies by yesterday’s smack, and enclosed 12 “Widow’s Lodgings,” a novel which they have also just published. I have not been able to hear who he [the author] is, nor yet who is the author of “Triermain.” . . . You maybe sure it is not Mr. Terry.’

It was three years—to Murray as well as to Blackwood three long and impatient years—before this connection with Ballantyne bore any of the desired fruit. *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering* had appeared, the first being brought out by Constable and the other by Longman, and both Blackwood and Murray were as eager as any others in ‘the Trade’ to secure the publishing of any further work which the Anonymous Author might produce. Both of them made some wild guesses as to who he was, and both of them had a suspicion that he was no other than Sir Walter—‘either Walter Scott or the Devil’ wrote one of them—while it would appear from the above letter that Blackwood was not without hopes that ‘Walter Scott’ might turn out the ‘man of great genius’ for whom he was waiting. However, Ballantyne at last, after many hints and promises, offered to Blackwood ‘by instructions from the author,’ a work in four volumes to be called ‘The Tales of My Landlord;’ each volume was to contain a separate tale, an arrangement which was afterwards altered, and the work was thus to be of more than usual

importance, as including a succession of books. The terms were curious, and involved the taking over of £600 of John Ballantyne's not very saleable stock; but curious and hard as they were, they were eagerly accepted by Blackwood—Murray taking a share in the business—and after many delays and much vexation of spirit to the two publishers, they issued the *Black Dwarf*, the first of the 'Tales.' Two editions were sold, and a third was moving off, though much more slowly than was expected, when Blackwood was unexpectedly informed by Ballantyne that he had a fourth ready. Some angry letters were written, and some very plausible excuses were made, but the matter was finally arranged by Blackwood and Murray taking the edition over. So far good, but there was worse to come. While Blackwood had 1200 copies of the fourth edition, and Murray some hundreds more on hand, an advertisement suddenly appeared that a fifth edition was about to be published by Constable. This came upon the two publishers as a bolt from the blue. They expostulated, and even talked of law, but it was of no use; the thing was definitely settled, they were told that no change would be made, and no change was made.

This curious and painful episode has never been explained, nor does Mrs. Oliphant contribute much towards its explanation. It may be, however, that Scott had taken offence at some plain spoken criticisms and suggestions as to the winding up of the story which Blackwood had sent to him, through Ballantyne, after reading the manuscript when first put into his hands. At a later period Sir Walter himself criticised the tale, and, according to Lockhart, 'completely adopted honest Blackwood's opinion,'\* but at the moment he was in no mood to listen to criticism. Immediately on receipt of Blackwood's letter, he wrote to James Ballantyne:—

'Dear James,—I have received Blackwood's impudent letter, G—d—his soul! Tell him and his coadjutor that I belong to the Black Hussars of Literature, who neither give nor receive criticism. I'll be cursed but this is the most impudent proposal that ever was made.—W.S.†

\* *Life*, vol. IV., p. 35. *Familiar Letters*, I., p. 375.

† Ballantyne did not, of course, send this letter to Blackwood, but it is curious to observe what it becomes in the hands of the diplomatic James,

This certainly betrays very considerable irritation, and if, as Mrs. Oliphant suggests, and not without good reason, this was not the only note, and there were suspicions that the work had been shown to others, the irritation would not be merely passing; and it may be, that Scott at once resolved to cease dealing with Blackwood at the earliest moment. But even this does not account for Constable's unexpected advertisement and the way in which the connection was severed. Mrs. Oliphant concludes her narrative of the incident as follows:—

'As for Scott, for whose spotless reputation everybody is concerned, my own opinion is that his venture with these two new publishers [Blackwood and Murray] was tentative, and it was quite on the cards that they might have secured him, but for this irritating cheek: while on the other hand it was also quite natural that he should have found the burden of James Ballantyne's mediatorship unbearable, and felt that, without an additional disclosure of his secret, which, whether wisely or foolishly, he was determined not to make, his simplest method was to return to the man who did already know, and with whom he could arrange at first hand, without any interference of a fussy, though bland, go-between. Neither Murray nor Blackwood throw any individual blame upon him, and he was, strictly speaking, within his rights in transferring the book, as he had expressly limited the arrangement to certain editions. The offensive announcement of a fifth edition before the fourth was exhausted was no doubt due to Constable, who thus celebrated his triumph over his rivals.'

The conjecture which is here made, is quite possible, but it is only a conjecture. Lockhart gives a fairly long account of

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or, as he was called, Signor Aldiborontophoscophornio. On October 4th, 1816, he sent the following:—'Our application to the author of "*Tales of My Landlord*" has been anything but successful, and in order to explain to you the reason why I must decline to address him in this way in future, I shall copy his letter *verbatim*:—"My respects to our friends the Booksellers. I belong to the Death-head Hussars of Literature, who neither *take* nor *give* criticism. I am extremely sorry they showed my work to Gifford, nor would I cancel a leaf to please all the critics of Edinburgh and London; and so let that be as it is. They are mistaken if they think I don't know when I am writing ill, as well as Gifford can tell me. I beg there be no more communications with critics." Observe—that I shall at all times be ready to convey anything from you to the author in a written form, but I do not feel warranted to interfere further.' The reference to Gifford may, as Mrs. Oliphant suggests, be due to the above being probably an amalgamation of two notes.



the affair, which on one or two points Mrs. Oliphant corrects, but as to the transfer of the publication of the book, all he says is, 'Circumstances ere long occurred which carried the publication of the work into the hands of Messrs. Constable.'\* What these 'circumstances' were he does not say, nor do the numerous letters cited by Mrs. Oliphant throw sufficient light upon them. Mr. Andrew Lang, in his *Life of Lockhart*, has nothing of importance to say about them, while in the *Murray Memoirs* the affair is passed over as if there had never been any trouble about it, though when replying to some query addressed to him on the subject by Lockhart, Murray speaks of having 'a vague notion that I owed the dropping of my connexion with the Great Novelist to some trashy disputes between Blackwood and the Ballantynes.'† But as Mrs. Oliphant has presumably had all the existing documents, which bear up the affair, in her hands, the probability is that no explanation can now be given.

Meantime Mr. Blackwood had removed from the South Bridge to 17 Princes Street, 'an address soon made memorable as the headquarters of a literary group unequalled in Edinburgh or within the limits of Great Britain.' Meantime, also, he had added to the Murray agency that of Cadell & Davies, London, 'and had shaken from his fingers for ever the dusty traces of old books.' As a publisher his business grew apace, and his disappointment over losing the connection with 'the man of great genius' had hardly begun when he discovered a woman of genius, in the person of Miss Ferrier. At first her correspondence with him seems to have been under an assumed name. When returning her manuscript, Blackwood writes to her in the most enthusiastic way, telling her, in reply to her modest request for suggestions, that 'The whole construction and execution of the work appear to him so admirable that it would almost be presumption in any one to offer corrections to such a writer,' and 'begs to assure the author that unmeaning compliment is the furthest from his thoughts,' and that 'he flatters himself that at no

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\* *Life*, iv., 18 *et seq.*

† Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, iv., 23.

distant period he will have the high delight of assuring the writer in person of the heartfelt sincerity of the opinion he has ventured to offer.' The work in question was *Marriage*, and on its completion Mr. Blackwood, notwithstanding the extremely high laudation he had passed upon it, offered and paid her only £150 for the copyright of the book, 'or rather, I think,' says Mrs. Oliphant, 'of the first edition.' For *Inheritance*, however, he paid her £1000; but *Destiny*, her third book, he apparently declined to publish. Cadell gave her £1700 for it. The account which Mrs. Oliphant gives of Miss Ferrier, though long, is worth quoting, inasmuch as it contains her opinion on Miss Austen as well as upon Miss Ferrier:—

'Everybody now knows something of the witty and delightful "Sister Shadow," to whom Sir Walter paid so beautiful a tribute. She came from the same original, genial, sagacious, and humourous race, that strata of Scottish gentry deposited in Edinburgh, and owing, perhaps, some readiness and flow of social gifts to the associations of the northern capital, and the constant intercourse and sharpening of its wits—which produced Sir Walter himself, and was his sister spirit in more than writing. She was afterwards connected with the circle of wits who inspired the magazine through her nephew, J. F. Ferrier, the well-known metaphysician, and his witty wife, the daughter of Professor Wilson: but these were all "unborn faces" at the time of Susan Ferrier's literary beginning. There was as yet no Magazine; and Wilson was an unknown young university man, known at least only for athletic feats, and an inclination towards poetry of the sentimental kind, "*Marriage*," came out of the cheerful and critical centre of Edinburgh society, as "*Sense and Sensibility*" came from the serene levels of English country life, with no warning, floating upwards like the tiny balloons which were one of the wonders of that day, carrying each the little circle of a new undiscovered world to the bigger universe around. Miss Ferrier was as Scotch as Miss Austen was English; but the Edinburgh lady had not that fine and pointed cynicism with which her contemporary touched the lines of the minute all-embracing picture. There was much fine sentiment and ideal portraiture mingled with the broader humour and larger laugh of the Scot, and perhaps her superfine Marys and Gertrudes took away a little of the unmingled effect of the other; though Miss Girzy, on the other hand, is as amusing as Miss Bates, although she has a much sweeter attraction. The two writers may, however, be now said to occupy a very similar level, and there are very few names which can be placed beside them. We feel disposed to believe that part of the divine element which had gone to the making of Scott, being left over, had framed these other secondary yet not inferior souls. It was Mr. Blackwood, ever thoughtful of giving pleasure to his friends, who sent to Miss

Ferrier "The concluding sentence of the new '*Tales of My Landlord*,' which are to be published to-morrow." This consisted, if the reader perchance may have forgotten, of the following words:—"If the present author, himself a phantom, may be permitted to distinguish a brother, or perhaps a sister, shadow, he would mention in particular the author of the very lively work entitled '*Marriage*.'"

At first 'Miss Ferrier, like her contemporary, Miss Austen, shrank with a horrified femininity from any betrayal of identity.' On one occasion her packets of proof 'are directed,' Mrs. Oliphant tell us, 'under cover to a friend, as if they had been clandestine love-letters.' Strange to say, 'in her old age she was so completely occupied with religious questions as to dislike and disapprove of the delightful works of her earlier days.' This, however, has not affected their popularity, or her position as a writer of fiction. There she still retains a high and quite individual place as 'one of a band of women who form a sort of representative group in their way of the three countries, which, it is to be hoped, no unpropitious fate will ever sunder or make to be other than one.'

After his disappointment in respect to the '*Tales of My Landlord*,' Mr. Blackwood, we are told, became 'impatient of bookselling and of the moderate risks and rewards of a humdrum publishing business' and set all his faculties on the watch 'for an opportunity to step forth from the usual routine and make a distinct place for himself.' He seems to have corresponded on the subject with Murray, who, in one of his letters, gives him some good fatherly advice, and among other things suggests that, having laid the foundations of a solid retail business, he should go on to improve it, until it could be 'consigned to the care of attentive clerks,' and that he himself should gradually rise 'into the higher duties of cultivating the young men of genius of the day, whom your present situation and literary attractions and attentions of all kinds will indisputably draw around you.' Some parts of this letter Blackwood, in all likelihood, resented, but the suggestions just mentioned he adopted. Upon one of them, indeed—the latter—he had been acting for some time; for just as Murray had thrown open his drawing-rooms in Albemarle Street to the literary loungers of London, so Blackwood, always on the

look out for the 'man of great genius' whom he was to help to fame, and who was to help him to fortune, had had a room in his premises in Princes Street fitted up, where 'the young men of genius' of Edinburgh were already wont to congregate. As to the way in which to cultivate and use them, he had a brilliant example before him in the *Edinburgh* which was then wildly careering in the first flush of its triumphant success. The *Quarterly* had been started in opposition to it, but although often brilliant enough and fierce enough, was usually grave, and was not answering the famous Whig Review in the way it was expected, or, at least, in the way in which Blackwood thought it might and ought to be answered. Accordingly, after much cogitation, though very little is known about its genesis, he set up the *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine* under the editorship of, and apparently in a sort of co-partnership with Messrs. Pringle & Cleghorn. Great things were expected from it, but from the first it appears to have been doomed to failure. Blackwood complained of the editors, and the editors complained of his interference, and with the sixth number it ceased, but only to appear in its seventh number under a changed name and under different guidance. While the necessary notice to Messrs. Pringle & Cleghorn was running out, Blackwood wrote to Messrs. Baldwin, Cradock & Co. in London: 'It is most vexatious stopping the magazine. . . . I have, however, made arrangements with a gentleman of first-rate talents by which I will begin a new work of a far superior kind.' Whether this 'gentleman of first-rate talents' was Wilson or Lockhart; whether the phrase was used for both of them; or whether it was used by Blackwood after the fashion he subsequently used 'the editor' or 'the gentleman who has charge of the department,' need not be inquired. As all the world knows, Blackwood had lighted upon two men of genius, and to them mainly *Maga* owed its first success. Mrs. Oliphant gives a vivid description of them in their young days when they formed part of the company in 17 Princes Street:

'Among the frequenters of this lively company were two young men who would have been remarkable anywhere, if only for their appearance

and talk, had nothing more remarkable ever been developed in them,—one a young man of grand form and mien, with the thews and sinews of a athlete, and a front like Jove, to threaten and command. Jove is not often portrayed with waving yellow locks and ruddy countenance, yet no smaller semblance would be a fit image for the northern demi-god with those brilliant blue eyes which are almost more effective in penetrating keenness than the dark ones with which that quality is more frequently associated. He was a genial giant, but not a mild one. Genius and fun and wit were no less a part of his nature than wrath and vehemence, and a power of swift and sudden slaughter, corrected in its turn by a large radiance of gaiety and good humour—sudden in all things, ready to fell an intruder to the earth or to welcome him as a brother, swift to slay, yet instant to relent.

‘The other, who divided with him the honours of this witty meeting, was John Wilson’s opposite in everything. He was slim and straight and self-contained, a man of elegance and refinement—words dear to the time—in mind as in person, dark of hair and fine of feature, more like a Spaniard than a Saxon, a perfect contrast to the Berserker hero by his side. They were both of that class which we flatter ourselves in Scotland produces many of the finest flowers of humanity, the mingled product of the double nation—pure Scot by birth and early training, with the additional polish and breadth of the highest English education: Glasgow College, as it was then usual to call that abode of learning, with Oxford University to complete and elaborate the strain. Wilson of Magdalen, Lockhart of Balliol, a Snell scholar, the best that Scotland could send to England. The career of both had been, perhaps, more brilliant than studious; but both had left Oxford in all the glories of success, first-class men, the pride of dons and tutors.

‘. . . They were both newly fledged advocates, members of the numberless and jocular band who trod the courts of the Parliament House, waiting for the briefs which there, as elsewhere, are so slow to come. Little recked these young and laughing philosophers of the absence of fees and steady work. They were young enough to prefer their freedom and boundless opportunity of making fun of everybody to all that was serious and useful. Lockhart was a caricaturist of no small powers. Both of them were only too keen to see the ludicrous aspect of everything, and the age gave them an extraordinary licence in expressing it—a licence incomprehensible to us nowadays, and which is nowhere so tempting, as it is nowhere so dangerous, as in a small community where everybody knows everybody, and personal allusions are instantly taken up and understood. This pair of friends met almost daily at Mr. Blackwood’s saloon in Princes Street, or came together arm in arm from Parliament House, in their high collars and resplendent shirt frills and Hessian boots. The boots form a splendid feature in the caricature-sketches, in which Lockhart represents himself stiff and straight, with the little tassels bobbing at his knees. Such



was the costume of the day, and such were the heroes of Edinburgh youth, men of endless faculty and inextinguishable mirth, men neither ungenial nor ungenerous, yet unable to deny themselves a jest, and tempted to find in the outcries of their victims rather a relish the more to their sometimes cruel fun than an argument to give it up.'

The secret of the new magazine which was to take the place of the unfortunate *Edinburgh Monthly* and fight the *Edinburgh Review* leaked out. Blackwood blamed Pringle and Cleg-horn, and believed they had disclosed it in revenge for their three months' warning. However the preparations went on and Mrs. Oliphant draws a lively picture of what may be imagined to have taken place in the saloon in Princes Street, 'the bustle and commotion,' 'the endless consultations and wild suggestions'—

'Lockhart, pensive and serious, almost melancholy, in the fiery fever of satire and ridicule that possessed him, launching his javelin with a certain pleasure in the mischief as well as the most perfect self-abandonment to the impulse of the moment; Wilson, with Homeric roars of laughter, and a recklessness still less under control, not caring whom he attacked nor with what bitterness, apparently unconscious of the sting till it was inflicted, when he collapsed into ineffectual penitence; Hogg bustling in, all flushed and heated with a new idea, in which the rustic daffing of the countryside gave a rougher force to the keen shafts of the gentlemen.'

Blackwood also was there admiring, enthusiastic and indomitable. As the time of publication drew near he was not without his bad moments. When he carried the new number home on the eve of its publication, he for once took no notice of the children, who rushed out of the nursery to meet him, but went straight to the drawing-room, Mrs. Oliphant tells us, 'where his wife, not excitable, sat in her household place, busy no doubt for her fine family; and coming in to the warm glow of the light, he threw down the precious magazine at her feet. "There is that that will give you what is your due—what I always wished you to have," he said, with the half-sobbing laugh of the great crisis. She gave him a characteristic word, half-satirical, as was her way, not outwardly moved, with a shake of the head and a doubt.' 'He was always sanguine,' Mrs. Oliphant continues; 'but she had no bee in her bonnet. Sometimes he called her a wet blanket

when she thus damped his ardour—but not, I think, that night.’ Evidently all parties concerned in the venture were that night worked up to a high pitch of excitement.

The contents of the number and the effect they produced are matters of history, and need hardly detain us. As for the first the most memorable was the Chaldee MS., of which Mrs. Oliphant gives a good account, and which from the second edition of the number was withdrawn. The two other notable pieces in the number were a virulent attack, quite uncalled for, upon Coleridge and his *Biographia Literaria*, ‘which,’ as Mrs. Oliphant remarks, ‘was of tenfold deeper guilt than the Chaldean vision;’ and a ‘still more virulent and most unpardonable assault upon what the writer dubbed The Cockney School of Poetry signed with the initial Z.’ This Mrs. Oliphant characterises as ‘the most offensive of all,’ and adds, ‘we are obliged to allow that it was an attack for which there is no word to be said, and which can only arouse our astonishment and dismay that the hand of a gentleman could have produced it, not to speak of a critic.’ Of the editor who could admit it, nothing is said. There were, of course, other pieces in the number, but these were the more notable, and we have preferred to let the annalist herself describe them. In Edinburgh the Chaldee MS. alone seems to have attracted attention. There was enough in it to set the whole town by the ears. Describing its effect Mrs. Oliphant says: ‘Edinburgh woke up next morning with a roar of laughter, with a shout of delight, with convulsions of rage and offence. . . . It ran through every group of men and into every company like wild-fire.’ Copies, we are told by Mr. R. P. Gilles, ‘were handed about with manuscript notes identifying the principal characters.’ The result, however, was much more serious than was probably anticipated. Actions were raised in the Court of Session, Baldwin and Cradock withdrew their names from the title page, and Blackwood, as Sir Walter Scott said, was ‘sent to Coventry by “the Trade.”’ But in spite of all, the first number served its purpose, and for a time *Maga* kept on as it had begun, though there were no more Chaldee MSS,

prospering almost beyond the most sanguine expectations of its founder.

The question of responsibility has often been discussed, but it is here practically settled. According to Sir W. Scott, as cited by Kirkpatrick Sharpe in a letter to Constable, Blackwood averred that the Chaldee MS. had been inserted 'against his will,' and in a letter to Laidlaw Blackwood wrote, 'I anxiously hope you will not be displeased by the Chaldee MS. There were various opinions as to the propriety of publishing this. The editor took his own way, and I cannot interfere with him.' And again, when excusing the article on the 'Cockney School of Poetry,' he professes his want of 'control over the measures of my editor,' and says, 'my editor has written to the author, etc.' To Laidlaw he wrote on another occasion, referring again to the Chaldee MS. :—

'No one can regret more than I do that this article appeared. After I saw it in proof I did everything I could to prevent it, and at last succeeded in getting the editor to leave it out. In the course of a day, however, he changed his mind, and determined that it should be in. I was therefore placed in a terrible dilemma; and as I must have stopped the magazine if I did not allow the editor to have his own way, I was obliged to submit.'

Excepting the mystification about 'the Editor,' there is no necessity for questioning the accuracy of this. Searchings of hearts there would certainly be; but it sounds strange beside the assertion of Lockhart: 'The history of it is this: Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, sent up an attack upon Constable the bookseller, respecting some private dealings of his with Blackwood. Wilson and I liked the idea of introducing the whole panorama of the town in that sort of dialect. We drank punch one night from eight till eight in the morning, Blackwood being by with anecdotes, and the result is before you.'\* In a note to one of the above cited letters to Laidlaw in which 'The Editor' occurs Mrs. Oliphant says:—

'This title is often but vaguely given to some undiscoverable person in the early days of the *Magazine*, the convenient partner who was always responsible and ever regrettably inclined to take his own way. As a

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\* A. Lang, *Life of Lockhart*, i. 157.

matter of fact the *Magazine* was, as might be said officially, in commission, with a governing body of three, no individual of which was supreme, though the publisher lamented the self-will of the editor, and the editor vituperated with much force the obstinacy of the publisher.' (Vol. I., 150).

And again, when discussing the matter formally she says:—

'I do not think that the reader, after the glimpses into the Blackwood correspondence, which I have been able to give, can have much doubt that the *Magazine* was, as I have said, in commission, the committee of three occupying intermittently the supreme chair—one number sometimes in one man's charge, sometimes in another's, now one judgment uppermost, but the veto always in Blackwood's hands.'

The present writer must own to very grave doubts indeed as to the correctness of this commission theory; and the last phrase just quoted—'the veto always in Blackwood's hands'—is conclusive evidence against it. Its real meaning is that Blackwood's judgment was always uppermost. He might listen, and did listen, like the shrewd man he was, to the opinions of others, but it was he who always gave the final and unappealable decision. It was he, too, who carried on the formal correspondence, and, so far as we can make out from the correspondence, discharged all the other duties of the editor. This, we take it, was Mrs. Oliphant's opinion when not theorising. Wilson and Lockhart, we know, were never the editors, either jointly or severally. It was always Blackwood who said what should and what should not be in. Amid the recklessness and rollicking mirth of Wilson and Lockhart he always kept a cool head and had a sharp eye to business. Even in this matter of the Chaldee MS., as Mrs. Oliphant says, 'William Blackwood was too sagacious and too completely a man of the world not to know exactly what effect' it 'would produce. If the fun went to his head, as to the heads of others who produced it, it never did so sufficiently to make him unaware of the risk he was running. . . . We cannot doubt for a moment that he knew what he was about. He was not a man to be carried off his feet at such a critical moment—or rather he permitted himself to be carried off his feet, casting prudence to the winds by the inspiration of that other prudence which sometimes sees it the wisest thing to set every thing on the turn of a balance, and

"Put it to the touch  
To gain or lose it all."

Or, as it is put on a subsequent page, his 'keen eye saw the advantages to be reaped from the very disadvantages, the reckless imprudence and dash, which are instruments in a cool and steady hand as good as any. . . . He withheld and subdued, when it was necessary, with great unconscious skill, with the constant steadiness and sense which always have their influence—and which were strengthened even by his enthusiasm, by the flow of wit and genius, the only things that ever went to his head.' On the whole it seems to the present writer that the theory of a commission is inadmissible, that the real editor was Blackwood, that the responsibility lay with him, and that his references to the Editor were mere attempts, doubtless justifiable, to conceal his identity. In Wilson and Lockhart, he had got his 'young men of genius,' who were to lift him to fame, and having attached them to his chariot, he assumed the reins, and while listening to advice, would brook no interference in the actual management of the chariot. Wilson was his chief assistant and Lockhart his second, but *longo intervallo*, though more reliable.

The blame for the misdeeds of the Magazine fell, as every one knows, on Wilson and Lockhart, but chiefly on the latter; and justly so, Mrs. Oliphant seems to think.

"The scorpion which delighted to sting the faces of men," she remarks, 'was no undeserved nickname, but seems to describe his peculiar character with considerable insight. He was not a swashbuckler like Wilson, making his sword whistle round his head, and cutting men down on every side. His satire was mischievous, virulent, not so much from hate as from nature. It was as if he had a physical necessity for discharging that point of venom, which he emitted suddenly without warning, without passion or excitement, proceeding on his way gaily with perfect unconcern where the dart was flung. It is impossible to imagine anything more unlike the roaring choruses of conviviality which were supposed to distinguish Ambrose's than this reticent, sensitive, attractive, yet dangerous youth, by whose charm such a giant as Scott was immediately subjugated, and who slew his victims mostly by the midnight oil, not by any blaze of gaiety, or in the accumulated fervour of social sarcasm. From him came the most of those sharp things which the victims could not forget. Wilson hacked about him, distributing blows right and left, deli-



vered sometimes for fun, though sometimes with the most extraordinary impulse of perversity, in the impetus of his career. Lockhart put in his sting in a moment, inveterate, instantaneous, with the effect of a barbed dart—yet almost, as it seemed, with the mere intention of giving point to his sentences, and no particular feeling at all.’

This is the traditional view and we have no intention at present of challenging it, though, it seems to us, that while responsible for whatever he wrote, the responsibility for its appearance in the Magazine must be laid on other shoulders than his. On this point much might be said, but in reference to it, in fairness to Lockhart himself, and with reference chiefly to the remark made by Mrs. Oliphant, that the ‘risk’ of publishing the Chaldee manuscript was Blackwood’s ‘alone’ and ‘would not touch those dashing young men any more than any other excellent joke would do,’\* the following words of Lockhart may be cited. They are given by Mr. Andrew Lang,† who remarks, ‘it was an ill day for Lockhart when he first put his pen at the service’ of *Maga*, and occur in the letter Lockhart wrote in reply to one he had received from Haydon the painter, complaining of his early cruelties.

‘I cannot be indifferent to your severe though generous reflections about my early literary escapades. You are willing to make allowances, but allow me to say, you have not understood the facts of the case. They were bad enough, but not so bad as you make them out. In the first place, I was a raw boy, who had never had the least connection either with politics or controversies of any kind, when, arriving in Edinburgh in October 1817, I found my friend John Wilson (ten years my senior) busied in helping Blackwood out of a scrape he had got into with some editors of his Magazine, and on Wilson’s asking me to try my hand at some scribbleries in his aid, I sat down to do so with as little malice as if the assigned subject had been the Court of Pekin. But the row in Edinburgh, the lordly Whigs having considered *persiflage* as their own fee-simple, was really so extravagant that when I think of it now, the whole story seems wildly incredible. Wilson and I were singled out to bear the whole burden of sin, though there were abundance of other criminals in the concern; and, by-and-by, Wilson passing for being a very eccentric fellow, and I for a cool one, even he was allowed to get off comparatively scot free, while I, by far the youngest and least experienced of the set, and who alone had no personal grudges against any of Blackwood’s victims, re-

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\* Vol. i., 115.

† *Life of Lockhart*, Vol. i., 127-29.

mained under such an accumulation of wrath and contumely, as would have crushed me utterly, unless for the buoyancy of extreme youth. I now think with deep sadness of the pain my jibes and jokes inflicted on better men than myself, and I can say that I have omitted in my mature years no opportunity of trying to make reparation where I really had been the offender. But I was *not* the doer of half the deeds even you seem to set down to my account, nor can I, in the face of much evidence printed and unprinted, believe that, after all, our *Ebony* (as we used to call the man and his book) had half so much to answer for as the more regular artillery which the old *Quarterly* played incessantly, in these days, on the same parties, . . . I believe the only individuals whom *Blackwood* ever really and essentially injured were myself and Wilson. Our feelings and happiness were disturbed and shattered in consequence of that connection. I was punished cruelly and irremediably in my worldly fortunes, for the outcry cut off all prospects of professional advancement from me. I soon saw that the Tory Ministers and law officers never would give me anything in that way. . . . Thus I lost an honourable profession, and had, after a few years of withering hopes, to make up my mind for embracing the precarious, and, in my opinion, intolerably grievous fate of the dependent on literature. It is true that I now regard this too with equanimity, but that is only because I have undergone so many disappointments of every kind, crowned by an irreparable bereavement, that I really have lost the power of feeling acutely on any subject connected with my own worldly position.'

This was written by Lockhart while he was still suffering under the blow that struck at his heart, the loss of his first wife. It does not exonerate him from all blame, but, as his biographer says, 'his pleas of youth, of association with an elder friend who should have set him a different example, and of freedom from personal malice, may be accepted even by severe judges.' At the same time it shows that in publishing the Chaldee manuscript, Blackwood, contrary to what is stated by Mrs. Oliphant, was not the only one who ran any risk, but that whatever the consequences of it were to him, to others, and especially to Lockhart, they were serious, more serious, we imagine, than either Wilson or Lockhart ever dreamed they might or could be.

After narrating the establishment of the Magazine, which, having sowed the wild oats of its youth, gradually assumed that air of gravity which it still maintains under the beard of Buchanan, one would naturally expect that the *Annals* would

begin to lose their interest; and so they might, but for the extraordinary skill with which Mrs. Oliphant weaves into her canvas a remarkable portrait gallery of the principal contributors to *Maga*. This gallery contains bright and almost inimitable sketches of many of the chief literary men of the early part of the century. Wilson and Lockhart have of course the largest space. After them come Hogg and Maginn, the Captain Shandon of Thackeray; De Quincey, John Galt, of *Annals of the Parish* fame, and John Wilson Croker; Croly, author of *Salathiel*, now well nigh forgotten; Gleig, the Chaplain-General, who published his novel *The Subaltern* in the pages of *Maga* in 1826, and was still a contributor sixty years later, and Thomas Doubleday, 'a Radical politician, poet, dramatist, biographer,' now forgotten; Mrs. Hemans, whose name is still remembered, and Miss Catherine Bowles, who afterwards married Southey; Mr. Alaric A. Watts also appears, as a chronicler, but chiefly of smaller beer. In what may be called a second series or section of the gallery, we have Warren, author of *The Diary of a late Physician, Ten Thousand a Year*, etc., afterwards a Commissioner in Lunacy, Michael Scott, the author of *Tom Cringle's Log*, John Sterling, the gentle Delta, the Rev. James White, Frederick Hardman, Bulwer Lytton, Sir Edward Hamley, George Henry Lewes, and his 'mysterious friend,' George Eliot: Sir Theodore Martin, Aytoun, and Laurence Oliphant. One of them, though by no means the most elaborate, we will venture to transcribe as a sort of specimen.

'The other contributor was the young naval officer who, both in his stirring fiction and in his letters, was a complete type of the dashing and dare-devil seaman familiar to the imagination of these times, Tom Cringle—in the world and among ordinary men, Michael Scott. He appeared in the *Magazine*, in two works, "Tom Cringle's Log" and the "Cruise of the Midge," full of spirit and humour and the genuine breath of the sea, but had a very brief literary existence, disappearing after these productions without further sign. His letters are full chiefly of revisions and corrections of detached portions of his stories as he sent them, and he seems to have made his publisher in many cases the medium of the corrections, denoting how a line is to be changed at the foot of page 30, or a new reading substituted for the end of a chapter, with a delightful indifference to the fact that he was writing to a man much more closely occupied than himself,

and whose business it certainly was not to correct proofs. "I never would have ventured to bother you thus, but you see you have spoilt me, old man," the careless sailor writes. Even the manuscript itself he seems to have sent in the most chaotic state, describing how he has "spun the within" (that is, written the enclosed) when on a visit, composing it "By fits and starts as I could steal time, but the pain of copying it out fair—I am such a bad penman—is too much for me to face." Thereupon he beseeches Mr. Blackwood "To select out of your pandemonium some champollion of a devil, skilful and patient enough to decypher my hieroglyphics." "Get some one," he adds, "to correct my French faults—I say, see that when the natives or me [sic] speak French that it be grammatical [sic]; as for Bang's, let it stand as I write it." The confidence which this reckless young writer feels in the man who had at once divined his merit and superintended his work is touchingly and simply expressed: "*Tom Cringle to W. Blackwood.* Now, my dear sir, make some one write particularly how you come on. I am more distressed than I can tell you at your continued indisposition. When you were well and at the helm, I used to carry sail fearlessly, for I knew you would always keep me in 'the right course.'"

'Very few have been the editors, still fewer the publishers, thus addressed; nothing could be more true than the benefits to which this simple acknowledgement bears witness.'

Interspersed between these lively and thoroughly enjoyable pictures are chapters biographical and publishing. Mr. William Blackwood died on the 16th of September, 1834, after a career as a publisher of almost unexampled prosperity. Though very nearly a 'heaven-born publisher,' there were some instances in which his judgment was at fault. Notwithstanding the enthusiasm with which he wrote about Miss Ferrier's first work, he does not seem to have had any conception of their enduring character, and, as we have seen, declined to publish her third book. Though continually on the look-out for 'young men of genius,' he was not always successful in their detection. When Thackeray offered him his 'Irish Sketch-book' he declined it. 'These sketches were not in these days,' Mrs. Oliphant remarks, 'considered good enough for the Magazine!' A similar blunder was made when the great 'Hoggarty Diamond' was declined. *Pen Owen*, on the other hand, which he declared to be 'a very extraordinary work,' did not at all fulfil his expectations. He had sent one £500 for the work; and 'We think,' says Mrs. Oliphant, 'it

was Mrs. Blackwood who was the more wise in this transaction, when, "as a good wife and the mother of eight children," she demurred to the despatch of the second £500 to follow the first before this anonymous book was ever published.' Acute man of business as he was, Blackwood was sometimes carried away by his enthusiasm. Nor did he always get his own way. His rule as Editor was gentle, but somewhat autocratic, and even Lockhart, though they always remained friendly, is known to have grumbled against it. In money matters they did not always see eye to eye, but those were the palmy days of magazine contributors. They were not then as plentiful as blackberries, and contributors like Lockhart were able to make their own terms. With Murray, as already hinted, Blackwood did not always get on well. They were always friendly, but there was always more or less of irritation or bickering between them. Blackwood refused to sell 'Don Juan;' Murray refused to take McCrie's *Life of Melville*, because, forsooth, it had been published in Edinburgh before it had been published in London. Murray, who had invested £1000 in the Magazine, wanted a regularly appointed and responsible editor, Blackwood did not. While Blackwood was pleased with the Magazine, Murray was not, and, as remonstrances were of no avail, he withdrew his money. Altogether, the correspondence between the two publishers, while instructive, as it could scarcely fail to be, is entertaining.

Of Blackwood's seven sons, two went out to India, one, William—whom we shall hear of hereafter as the 'Major'—before his death, and the other, Archibald, after it. Six of them stood around his grave—the eldest twenty-eight, the youngest a child of eleven—and the business fell under the direction of Alexander and Robert. Of these, Alexander was 'the more literary,' and Robert, 'the more energetic and enterprising in all things connected with the trade.' It is of the first that we hear most. When nineteen, his father adopted the very sensible plan of sending him up to London to learn the minutiae of his business, and very conscientiously the young man seems to have devoted himself to it, 'collecting' 'with the blue bag on his shoulder,' and anxiously trying to keep



his accounts square. His letters home are among the most interesting in the volume, full of trade and literary gossip, often amusing, and always full of anxiety about home and business. 'There will be a famous opportunity for publishing this season,' he writes, 'as both Constable and Murray are taken up about other matters, and I hope you will get something very good.' He hears that Lockhart is not happy about the contributors to the *Quarterly*, the Editorship of which he had just assumed, and 'is delighted to report,' says Mrs. Oliphant, 'that Mrs. Hughes had whispered in his ear, "You will be better without him."' He was the first to advise his father of the catastrophe which was about to fall upon the publishing trade both in Edinburgh and in London, and 'involved consequences more noteworthy than even the ruin of Constable—the catastrophe of Scott and the heroic struggle that followed.'

'There is a dreadful scarcity of money in the city just now,' he writes, 'and I have heard it rumoured that Whittaker and Knight Stacey were both on the point of crashing. If Whittaker goes, Waugh & Innes must go; therefore I hope you will not give him any accommodation, as you might just as well throw away your money at once. I have learned that Hurst & Robertson's bills have been returned to-day. Later he writes: 'Everybody seems to be distracted just now, and even Longman's people are said to be in great difficulty.' Still later he writes, referring to the ruin of Constable: 'This business will make you the first bookseller in Scotland and I think the Whigs will feel this most dreadfully.'

When he and his brother Robert took charge of the business, though young, they were, as Lockhart said, 'men in mind and character.' They conducted the business on the old lines and worked together as one mind. Unfortunately Alexander was somewhat of an invalid, and had frequently to give up business in order to go in search of health. The next of the brothers to enter the business was John, whom Mrs. Oliphant describes as 'perhaps the most gifted of Mr. Blackwood's sons.' As a boy, he is said to have been 'idle and thoughtless,' and according to the family report was 'never so far up in school

as he ought to have been.' His father described him as 'a very quick and thoughtless creature,' and says: 'His memory is capital, and he can give an account of whatever he reads,' 'even,' he adds, 'if it be some chapters of the Bible.' His brother Alexander calls him 'a perfect biographer,' 'a very idle scholar, but,' says he, 'reads history from morning to night.' Like his older brother, John was sent to London to learn the business, and, like him, became acquainted with the mysteries of the blue bag. Afterwards he took charge of the London branch of the business, in Pall Mall, when it was first opened, and became acquainted with most of the literary men about London with some of whom he struck up an intimate acquaintance, as, for instance, Delane of *The Times*, and Thackeray, Hardman and Phillips, Warren, Lord Lytton, and G. H. Lewes. On the death of Alexander in 1845, after superintending the removal of the 'Branch' to Paternoster Row, he returned to Edinburgh, and took his brother's place as Editor of the Magazine. By this time the business had been greatly extended. During the lifetime of William Blackwood it had already been removed to the more convenient premises, where it is now carried on, in George Street, and after his death, on the initiative of Robert, the firm added to the publishing business that of printing; and while John took in hand the Magazine and the general literary work, Robert superintended the other branch of the business. This arrangement, however, did not last long. Four years after Alexander's death, Robert succumbed, and the 'Major' was recalled from India to take his place. The head of the firm is now Mr. William Blackwood the second, the Major's son.

Scattered throughout the *Annals* are abundant notes of the works which from time to time were issued from this great publishing house in Edinburgh. Besides those already mentioned are many others, the bare enumeration of whose titles would make up a considerable catalogue. Among the earlier was Irving's *Life of George Buchanan*, which, Mrs. Oliphant remarks, 'came with special appropriateness from the publisher, who, as Hogg said, 'cared for nothing that did not come under the beard of Geordie Buchanan,' meaning the

Magazine, upon the front cover of which is the familiar face of the great Scottish humanist. Others were Scott's *Malachi Malagrowther*, the Highland Society's *Gaelic Dictionary*, Wilson's *Isle of Palms*, etc., and Hogg's *Queen Hynde*, besides 'a phalanx of serial publications,' and Henry Stephen's *Book of the Farm*, 'which for a great many years was as a small but very sure landed estate to both author and publisher.' Pollok's *Course of Time*, a poem now we fear very little read, was an 'immense success.' It 'became one of the most popular of books, passing through edition after edition until it reached that desirable phase of becoming a prize book for the diligent scholars of Sunday and other schools—than which nothing could be more advantageous, from a material point of view.' The *Statistical Account of Scotland* was another great undertaking. But the great 'stand-by' of the house for many years was Alison's *History of Europe*. Its success was extraordinary. Edition after edition was issued. 'When everything else was languid, it continued to sell. "A number of people," says young John Blackwood, then just beginning to take an active share in the business, "seem to say to themselves every two or three days, 'Come let's have a set;'" and a set was no small matter, not lightly to be undertaken by those who had a limited purse or limited bookshelves. It became a work which no gentleman's library could do without.' Its fame has since considerably fallen, though it has still its readers. Among novels issued with the Blackwood imprint in these early days one of the most popular was Captain Hamilton's *Cyril Thornton*. Another was Gleig's *Subaltern*. But the fame of both was exceeded by Warren's *Diary of a Late Physician* and *Ten Thousand a Year*, etc. These seem to have taken the public by storm, and to have had an immense vogue—a circumstance extremely gratifying to Warren's complacency. In fashionable circles they are now almost forgotten, and their readers are few; but in some circles their popularity is still maintained. Only the other day we were shown a copy of *Now and Then*, belonging to a public library, which was simply worn to tatters, and had been set aside to be replaced, and were assured by the official in charge, that 'all Warren's are immensely popu-

lar.' Among other successes in the same line were Galt's *Annals of a Parish*, etc., and Lord Lytton's *The Caxtons*, *My Novel*, and *Ernest Maltravers*. A more important undertaking was Billings' *Baronial Antiquities*, the cost of production being estimated at the enormous sum of £10,450. Later than these came Hamley's *Story of the Campaign*, the campaign being the Crimean, and Kinglake's *History of the Crimean War*. The publication of this last, however, is here only hinted at.

Among the brightest chapters in the *Annals* are those which narrate George Eliot's connection with the publishers. Like Miss Ferrier and Miss Austen, she shrunk, at first, from discovering her identity, and her writings, as every one knows, were introduced to the Blackwoods by G. H. Lewes. Lewes described her 'as of a timid temper, one whom it was impossible to persuade that his production was of any value or importance, and quite unaccustomed to the mode of writing in which he now made his first essay.' After reading 'The Sad Fortunes of the Rev. Amos Barton,' Mr. John Blackwood was of opinion that it would 'do,' but desired to see more, and concludes one of his letters to Lewes by saying, 'I am glad to hear that your friend is, as I supposed, a clergyman. Such a subject is best in clerical hands, and some of the pleasantest and least prejudiced correspondents I have ever had are English clergymen.' He was anxious, of course, to break through the incognito. Major Blackwood paid a visit to the Lewes pair at Richmond, hoping to do so, but wrote, 'I saw, "a Mrs. Lewes,"' but 'G. E. did not show; he is such a timid fellow Lewes said.' The fictitious character, indeed, was kept up for three years, and was then only removed in consequence of the impostor Joseph Liggins claiming to be the author of *Adam Bede*. In George Eliot, however, the Blackwoods found an author of a somewhat different character from Miss Ferrier and Lord Lytton. She desired neither their corrections nor their criticism, but decidedly objected to them. Her letters exhibit a remarkable talent for business, and in one of them she roundly takes her publishers to task for not advertising one of her books as she thought it ought to have been. Her business letters, however, though written by herself, proceeded

in reality from Lewes, who was always at hand to direct her, and in all matters of literary business, had few equals.

Here, with a word of praise to the compiler of the index to the volumes, we must reluctantly lay down our pen. The work is of enduring interest, and one cannot but regret that the hand which penned the two volumes now before us is not with us still to complete the work.

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#### ART. IV.—A CORNER OF BRETONLAND.

IT may be that many of the perusers of these pages—even should they have voyaged across the English Channel—have never made acquaintance with that other and lesser 'Britain,' so long incorporated in the French fatherland, yet in earlier times colonised from our own shores, and afterwards so closely associated with the Crown of England. While of those who do pass a brief holiday in the land which memorizes Du Guesclin, Chateaubriand, Surcouf, and Duguay-Trouin, how many have time to learn aught of its traditions, usages, and characteristics; to catch the points of its scenery and the turns of its speech; to realise the amenity of its climate and the fruitfulness of its soil? There be some—and my countrymen are not the least of sinners in this regard—who might live a lifetime abroad, and yet practically take in nothing from or about the people with whom they have been resident. These are British of the British after a certain well-known type, which is wont to provoke the sallies and sarcasms of our Continental neighbours. But, if with eyes and ears open one spends a twelvemonth or more in a new country, it may be possible to imbibe some impressions of it worth communicating to other people who have not been there. In this hope, I propose to transport the reader for awhile from Britain to a certain interesting nook in eastern Brittany.

As to the best way to get there. Well, by the most direct route, St. Malo is, of course, the natural French port to make



for. It is reached from Southampton by the London and South-Western Railway steamers, which ply each way three times a week, and is the only seaport in the Breton province with which a regular passenger steamboat connection to and from England is kept up. For the most part, the service is so timed that the boats sight the French coast in the morning, and the approach to St. Malo thus viewed in full daylight is in itself very characteristic. The first glance round shows a multitude of reefs and rocky islets surf-washed and foam-fringed, the intricacies of the narrow navigating channel being marked out with here a beacon, there a lighthouse tower. On the right, the long low promontory of Cape Fréhel stretches out into the ocean; and next to it the Point and Bay of St. Cast, memorable and fatal spot for the British arms in 1758. Eastward towards the Rance a straggling indented coastline, dotted with white villas and farmhouses. To the left, the boldly-scarped 'Ile de Cézembre' is seen quite near. Beyond are the Conchée rocks, one of them, 'Grande Conchée,' surmounted with an old fort. Then, passing the forts 'de Harbour' and 'Du Petit Bey,' you turn the corner of the out-jutting stone pier, and find yourself gazing up into the windows of a maze of tall many-storied houses. These overlook you, thoroughly foreign of aspect; steep-pitched roofs pierced with dormers, immense chimney stacks, and rows of tall white-edged windows; but separated from the quay by the lofty old rampart wall of the city.

When, having landed, one has got clear of the prying eyes and busy hands of the *Douaniers*—who, unlike our own Custom-House officials, are all costumed in military uniform with sidearms—and the hotel, 'pension,' or furnished house of the season is reached, one breathes more freely, and one's French experiences begin.

The picturesque rocky mount, originally an island, which is now the town of St. Malo, is not without a history and vestiges of the past; and a day's walk through its quaint streets or round the circuit of its ramparts repays the lover of antique architecture. What strikes you in threading its strait and devious ways, some of them rough-paved and steep stone-

fought, is the prevalence of seventeenth century dwelling-houses. This is evidenced beyond a doubt by the great number of dated doorway lintels, ranging, for the most part, between A.D. 1620 and 1680, though a few run into the eighteenth century. Of twenty-five inscriptions I copied down haphazard in the older by-streets, the earliest date was 1600, and the latest 1698. Some of these doorways are handsome specimens of their kind, with finely carved mouldings; and there are also some good examples of antique oaken doors. Near the venerable Cathedral is an interesting little church worth noting. Over its portal a Latin superscription tells us that on the 23rd day of February, 1620, in the pontificate of Paul V. and reign of Louis XIII., Gulielmus Macloviensis (of St. Malo) consecrated this edifice to the praise of God, the most Blessed Virgin Mary, and St. Aaron. The Aaron, whose memory is here enshrined, is the traditional first apostle and pioneer of Christianity in the sixth century to this quarter of Brittany. Here he is said to have founded a monastery, which gave the Malouine Settlement its earlier name 'L'Île d'Aaron.' But when, six centuries later, the episcopal seat was transferred here from Aleth (St. Servan), the older designation was changed to *Saint-Malo-de l'Île*, in commemoration of Malo (or Maclou) Aaron's disciple and successor. The old fourteenth century castle now used as a barrack, is a strongly built fortalice, and a conspicuous feature of the 'fenced city.' It has stood many assaults, particularly in the last two centuries when St. Malo was a nest of privateering. Perhaps one of the hardest knocks the town ever got was in 1693 when Benbow with an English squadron surprised the Malouins and launched against their ramparts a fireship stuffed full of powder and missiles. The explosion which ensued rent a great gap in the town walls, unroofed many houses, did much other damage, and created a panic among the inhabitants.

But turning from St. Malo, I want to take the reader with me into the less-known by-corner of Bretonland, which lies between that town and oyster-famed Cancale, and which

includes the new and rapidly developing watering-place, Paramé.

No one coming to St. Malo is likely to pass Paramé by without a visit. For, what is now known to the tourist by the latter name is really the extended fringe of villas, Casinos, and hotels, which nearly three miles in length skirts the magnificent beach between St. Malo and Pointe de la Varde. The little communal town with *Mairie* and *magasins*, which has given its designation to this popular seaside resort, stands back from the shore about a quarter mile or so. It is an oldish settlement; but has nothing noteworthy about it except two or three ancient houses, one superscribed with the date 1608, and except that it helps to supply Paramé-sur-Mer with bread, meat, and other necessities.

Never have I seen (and the present writer has voyaged a good deal over the world) a finer extent or quality of sea-beach than that of Paramé. It has all the requisites dear to ladies and children out on summering holiday. It shelves very gradually. The tide recedes a long way, leaving a great width of firm smooth sand exposed, with little or no shingle; so that for a canter on horseback, or constitutional walk, or, again, indulgence in the juvenile pastime of 'ploughing the sands' for the building of castles, it is difficult to imagine anything better. There are certainly reefs and patches of rock scattered about here and there; but these are mostly too far out to be in the way, and with the outlying islands merely contribute to picturesqueness.

During the season the beach is alive with human kind. The rows of bathing-machines and sitters on camp-stools under white umbrellas, are pretty much the same as at all watering-places. But the Frenchwoman brings out her tent *d'abri*, sets it up on the shore, and she and her household occupy it off and on all day long, knitting, sewing, reading, chatting. These tents are also often made use of in lieu of bathing-boxes. It is a feature of French life at the seaside that Monsieur, *sa femme et ses enfants*, young and old, all thoroughly domesticated, are content during holiday to spend their time placidly together on the beach; without that

yearning for 'la chasse,' rough active games, or clambering up the most impossible cliffs in the locality, which so often distinguishes the male Briton during his outings.

But I must not linger on the Paramé seashore, the opalescent hues, sapphirine and emerald, of its ever changing expanse of waters,—the splendid sunsets in skies usually of unclouded brilliance, though at times lurid and lowering for summer thunder-storm—the Pharos lights, red, green, and yellow, flashing out after dark in the mysterious distance. For there is much more ground to go over.

Perhaps to the British eye seeing this part of the country for the first time, the most striking figures among the people are the women of the industrial class, and the priests. The Breton woman's white cap with its cunning arrangement of bows and streamers gives the setting to the feminine costume, and saves all the cost of cheap finery in bonnets. Most of the towns and communes have their distinguishing style and pattern of head-gear, to which the respective female communities conform. Tradition has it, according to one version, that this is due to the great hereditary Duchess of Brittany, Anne, twice Queen-consort of France (15th-16th century), who busied herself in teaching the Armorican dames and maidens attending her Court the art and craft of designing varied modes of this becoming cap. When the ladies returned to their homes and seigneuries, each took with her the particular fashion she had been learned in, and thus the different varieties of this picturesque *coiffure* were originated, and took root in the several localities of the Province.\* On Sundays and fête days one sees large bands of white-capped females trooping along the country roads, more often than not without a solitary male kinsman or 'follower' to keep them company. Commonly of ruddy brown complexion, blithe and cheery; at times in their walk breaking out into song—like Lycidas in

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\* M. Manet tells us this Anne was the first French Queen accorded a separate residence and *ménage* from the Kings, and adds :—" *C'est l'origine de ces filles de qualité qu'on a connues depuis sous le nom de Filles de la reine et de Dames du palais. . . .*"—(' *Histoire de la Petite-Bretagne*,' par M. F. Manet. 1834).

Virgil's Eclogue—to lighten the travel; incessantly chattering away in quick voluble tones to one another, as though life were too short to let them get said all the things they want to say!

So, again, is the figure of the ecclesiastic racy of his land. The long black cassock, slouched flat wide-brimmed hat, broad white or white-edged bands, of M. le Curé or M. l'Abbé, seem somehow the fitting externals here of his office, and sit well upon him. Some of the older clergy, in especial, have strong fresh-coloured countenances, benevolent and sagacious withal, with none of that grimy, sallow, sardonic aspect one sees in a certain type of Italian cleric, and occasionally in Ireland. But, indeed, the Hibernian priest, coated, pantalooned, and tall-hatted in sable, presents in his garb an appearance very different from the picturesque get-up of his Breton brethren. As he approaches you at a leisurely pace, the French *prêtre* will very probably be reading from his breviary or 'book of hours' the offices of the day, which the discipline of his Church requires him during every twenty-four hours to recite. Should a passer-by salute him, he will courteously raise his hat, and then proceed with his religious exercises. The State gives the Gallican priest but a very slender pittance. Nevertheless, his wants are modest: he is generally devout, careful for the poor, and esteemed of the people as a spiritual father in the Faith. For the Bretons of both sexes are, in the main, strongly attached to their Church: and, through many political vicissitudes and despite the too prevalent atmosphere of latter-day agnosticism, have held fast to the pious traditions of their forefathers. I may have something more to say about this presently.

In his delightful essay, 'De Senectute,' Cicero especially eulogises among rustic delights the charm of gardens, orchards, and variety of all kinds of flowers. Now, let us take a country walk half a dozen miles in any direction from Paramé. The features in the landscape that will strike us most are the lanes and their diversified flora, the many antique chateau-like dwelling houses with fine gardens, and the orchards. A Breton lane in this region is generally very narrow and circuitous, shut



in between high earthen banks, and after wet weather frightfully muddy, in fact, a positive quagmire when it descends into flats and hollows. To obviate this impediment, where the lanes become impassable one nearly always finds (in the field above) a footpath running alongside it. But, like the Devonshire by-ways, these deep-sunk alleys are in springtime gay with all sorts of wild flowers. In February or early March of an ordinary season you may chance on a plentiful find of scented wild violets, white as well as purple. I have known enough brought home of an afternoon to fill three or four vases. Or, it may be, a row of green tufts aglow with splendid daffodils comes upon one as a surprise, and next, perhaps, blooms of white narcissus. A little later banks, ditches, and hedgerows will be starred with primroses and dog violets, but of these there is nothing like the luxuriant superabundance to be seen in England, Wales, or Southern Ireland. April and May bring a still greater variety of Nature's flowering gems: the lilac-hued scabius, pink mallow, white starwort (*stellaria*), birdseye, yellow vetch, wild geranium. Then the fields around burst out into blossom. With the first red poppies comes up the common clover: and in dense masses of rich empurpled red is to be seen its showier kinsman, the handsome lucerne. At La Guimorais, where our countrymen play golf, the sweet scented briar-rose blooms in extraordinary profusion. Then there are the blue milkwort; champions both white and pink, along with the 'bladder' or bell variety; blue-bells, ragged robin, bugloss (ox-tongue), very large and handsome; Solomon's seal, purpureal and rough-leaved, and in marish spots the beautiful yellow iris—all old English friends, and all flourishing in exuberance. And, as one approaches the seashore, one may light upon a splendid stretch of golden sea-poppy; while, lower down at the cliff edge, rows and clusters of sea-pink fringe the rocks and pathways.

Summer brings tangled mazes of honeysuckle and clematis: the pretty blue-spiked thistle, the graceful bindweed, the purple loosestrife and many another familiar meadow memorial of old England. But, strange to say, there are no cowslips; at least, I have met with none. As for the bramble bush, the

lanes are simply lined with it; and in a single afternoon when the blackberries are ripe, a few hands in a family may pick enough to stock the household with jam for a whole winter. Early in a recent year no less than five tons of blackberries were shipped off from St. Malo to England in one cargo!

In point of fact, everything—flowers, fruits, vegetables, grain crops—grows luxuriantly in the light sandy soil and brilliant sunshine of Brittany. Like Jersey, Guernsey, and the Scilly Isles, the Breton country is one of the market gardens which supplies England, and especially London, with timely produce, generally three or four weeks in advance of our own seasons. During the early spring and on to June, the steamers leaving France are crammed with hampers of broccoli, radishes, asparagus, new potatoes, peas, beans, strawberries, etc., all bound for ‘John Bull et son Ile’ on the outgoing steamer days. The waysides at certain convenient spots may be seen strewn with the farmers’ baskets waiting to be filled with ‘légumes’ and carted off. While, along the road one meets a constant succession of waggon-loads transporting the stuff to the quays, often hurrying along in hot haste at the last moment not to miss the boat. For, time is everything with these cargoes, especially fruit, which won’t bear keeping. At Christmastide great quantities of mistletoe are shipped over to the ‘Anglais.’ This parasitic plant grows plentifully in large tangled bunches on the boughs of the Breton trees, presenting the appearance of deserted rooks’ nests.

Some of the by-roads form another distinctive feature of this quarter of Brittany. These are commonly enclosed with high stone walls often of very old masonry and overgrown with ivy. Along the copings are richly tinted mosses and stone-crop, often with luxuriant tufts of wild flowers embedded in them. Out of the crevices one may see springing the valerian, or perchance the pink fumatory. Indeed, these ancient-looking walls are real studies of colour from the variegated vegetation which clothes them: and they serve to compensate for the somewhat monotonous aspect of the inland scenery, which is destitute of striking hill-ranges, or fine

woodland trees. The orchards, it is true, are a redeeming feature in the landscape; they abound, and, when the pear and apple blossom is fully out, are a glorious show. But one misses the velvety fallow grass round the fruit trees as in England, the Breton orchards being usually sown with some cereal crop, nor is there that exquisite lush and lavish verdure of mead and mossy hedgerow, which, with its spell of hushed solitude, makes our own sweet pastoral country an enchanted land. Besides the more ordinary varieties of grain, buck-wheat is grown a good deal: and a stranger English eye is sure to notice the fields planted with tobacco from its large conspicuous leaf. The sale of tobacco being a monopoly of the French Government, its home cultivation is much encouraged, but with stringent restrictions against its illicit use by the farmer or others.

It is a great pity that the growing timber in this part of France is so lopped and prevented from attaining its full dimensions. Whether it be the scarcity of fuel in France, or the idea of making the most of the soil by keeping down arboreal growth, I cannot say; but certain it is that the result of this maiming process on the poor trees is very disfiguring to the landscape. Some are pollarded into more or less shapeless stumps whence spring short scraggy side-shoots in place of fine wide-spreading branches. Others are lopped in limb but left with the tree top in a bunchy tuft, so that a row of these dismembered trees has rather the appearance of a line of 'Aunt Sallies' at a penny show, magnified into Brobdingnagian proportions.

I have spoken of the quaint style of some of the country houses. Slated roofs, steep of pitch, with rich orange-tinted streaks or patches, where stonecrop or lichen has overspread itself; very lofty, broad and conspicuous chimney-stacks, springing not from the roof-edge but from the eaves; small, picturesque dormer-windows; an entrance gate-way over-arched in stone, with very frequently a private chapel (apsed) hard by; occasionally straight avenues of unmutilated beeches or elms: these give a certain characterisation to the rural environment. In some cases old demesne houses of this kind

are now tenanted by yeomen farmers, the families of the former manorial *seigneurs* or other proprietors having long since been dispossessed. A good example is the mansion 'Le Lupin' (near La Guimorais) which has the date 1692 carved above its central dormer; while over a built-up doorway in its chapel the earlier date 1618 appears. Usually the ancient domanial enclosure wall remains hoar and dilapidated; often with great unattended gaps in it; yet, none the less, from its wealth of ivy and luxuriant herbage, a study for a painter.

The country carts or farm wains are another salient feature of the Breton *paysage*. In these the horses are commonly yoked tandem, and carry large wooden collars, painted blue, and ornamented with a huge long-haired fleece of the same colour, made of wool, something like what we use for door mats and the coarser sorts of hearth-rug. This gives the horse a peculiarly shaggy and bison-like appearance; and the blue-bloused carter completes the picture. Donkeys (and to a less extent mules) are a great stand-by among the peasant folk, both for draught and carrier uses. Women huddled up on donkey-back between a couple of piled up *panniers*, or driving (and too frequently belabouring) a poor ass from an overladen cart, are familiar objects along the roadways. People of a better class, too, put donkeys in harness and will even drive them in pair; of this sort I have seen quite a smart turn-out. Then, in the fields and rural by-ways one meets these beasts of burden everywhere tethered to pickets, and the 'cacophony' of their discordant brayings is constantly in one's ears during a country walk.

Wild birds of all sorts, small and great, are much scarcer over here than in England; due, doubtless, to the far keener war waged against them by all and sundry disposed to carry a gun. But things are not so bad here as in parts of Italy where, I believe, the destruction of the feathered songsters almost amounts to extermination. Many of our familiar friends, thrush, blackbird, lark, cuckoo, the pert little sparrow, chaff-chaffs, finches of sorts, swifts, swallows, martins, are amongst us in this quarter of Brittany. Magpies are very numerous, and, doubtless, no less mischievous to the farmer

than their race elsewhere. Curlew one finds sparingly along the seashores, but very few sea-birds. Game is not wanting. Woodcock arrive occasionally in hard winters. One October morning at La Guimorais, I put up a covey of eight partridges in a small scrubby turnip field; and a couple of days later two fine hares just outside the village of Rotheuef. But I am told the *plaisirs de la chasse* are disappointing, and in the absence of game laws and licences the bag is likely to be very scant in a day's walk.

No account of any part of the Armorican land would be complete without a word about its churches and ecclesiological relics. As specimens of architecture the ordinary *paroisses* in the region of country we are considering have nothing much to boast of, either as to style or antiquity. Nevertheless, an interior of any one of them will, to a foreigner, be sure to present certain unaccustomed and noteworthy details. I will select from my notebook as a specimen the church of St. Jouan des Guérets, some miles up the picturesque river Rance. Let us enter it from the west doorway. To the right is an altar enfaced on one side with a number of tablets, which are inscribed 'Reconnaissance à St. Joseph,' and were placed there by the piety of individual worshippers (the initials of the donor are in one case attached). On the other side of the shrine is a statue of the Saint bearing the Holy Child, and underneath it the legend 'Témoignage de Reconnaissance,'—somebody's token of gratitude, we may assume, for favours believed to have been conferred. On the north side of the church another altar is seen, dedicated to 'St<sup>us</sup> Joachim' and 'St<sup>a</sup> Anna,' whose effigies flank it. Here again we find tablets inscribed as thank-offerings, in this instance to 'Notre Dame de St. Jouan,' the patron Saint of the church. The pulpit is enriched with sacred sculpturings and surmounted by the figure of an angel holding an open book across the breast. Opposite, high aloft on a column, the customary crucifix confronts the preacher, ever to remind him of the exalted Head and Front of his faith. At the entrance porch stands a very massive and seemingly antique marble font or holy-water stoup chased over with



grotesque human heads. Then the eye takes in the high altar with its maze of candelabra and the hanging coloured lamp always aglow before the monstrance, and is caught by the light of a burning votive taper at one or other of the different shrines.

Those acquainted with the details of Roman Catholic churches are aware that pictorial representations of the 'Stations of the Cross' are usual (though not universal) accompaniments of the internal garniture of the buildings. The Breton churches are no exceptions to this rule, but among those I have made acquaintance with there is nearly always another adjunct exhibited on the walls. This is an imprinted picture-face of the Saviour '*Vera Effigies Sacri Christi*,' to which is appended a table or office of invocations thus designated:—'*Invocations à la Sainte Face de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ en réparation de Blasphèmes et pour la conversion de Blasphémateurs*.' The office is a sort of litany addressed to the sacred visage, and composed of many verses from which I extract the following: '*O Face Adorable, plus belle que le soleil, plus gracieuse que la lune, plus brillante que les étoiles . . .*' In point of fact the lineaments of the countenance depicted in this singular print (which is identical in all the churches) are pinched and drawn, giving a corpse-like almost ghastly presentment of the Christ. Another specialty in these churches, all more or less within the hearing of the wild sea voices, is the prevalence of models of ships as well as of pictures of shipwreck and disaster, the latter often badly painted no doubt, but still pathetic. We see the raging breakers, the sinking vessel, the half-drowned mariner struggling through the stormy waters to the rock where stands '*Notre Dame de Secours*,' her hand on the Holy Rood, ready to aid those who call upon her.

A very striking and graceful church seen from a distance is St. Méloir, situated on the summit of a hill, where its lofty spire with projecting canopied niches is a conspicuous beacon for miles round. St. Suliac, again, is one of the most ancient of the country '*paroisses*'; dating back, says M. l'Abbé de Corson, to the 13th century. It contains some striking pic-

tures, a remarkable piscina fixed [a very unusual position] into one of the tower columns, and a side rose-window with the remains of some rich old stained glass. Its fine porch ornamented with sculptured figures of ecclesiastics is a veritable piece of sumptuous mediæval workmanship: and its handsome square tower and the elegantly decorated Gothic arching of its nave are so like similar features of the early English style as to give colour to the local tradition that the builders of the St. Suliac fane came from England. Then, too, the little town clustering round the church is itself an old-world curiosity. Among some venerable-looking dwelling-houses just outside the churchyard I noted a date on a door lintel 1598 with the initials R.L. While on the subject of religious edifices, I must not omit mention of the little chapel or oratory dedicated to 'Notre Dame des Flots,' on the Rotheneuf shore, about two miles walk from Paramé. Inside one sees four or five *prie-dieu* chairs; on the altar a crucifix and shrine of the Madonna with the motto 'Priez pour nous,' and a few flowers. Outside, crowning the seaward or apsed end of the little structure, is a finely sculptured statue of 'La Sainte Vierge' enfolding the Holy Child with one arm, while the other rests on an anchor. The Babe holds an orb with crosslet as emblem of world-wide sovereignty, and there is besides a small ship. Over the portal is carved a scroll with the following couplet:

' Si l'amour de Marie en ton coeur est gravé  
Arrête ici passant et récite un Ave.'

Out yonder 'the stately ships go on' to their havens, and, in the month of May, when the boats of the adjoining 'Havre' sail away to the deep-sea fishing, comes the priest to bless the outgoing fleet, and then come also the wives and poor women-folk to put up a prayer for the safety of the dear ones. Certainly there is an appealing touch of sentiment in the situation of this tiny cell perched on the very edge of the cliff, and especially in the pose and attitude of the serene graceful figure gazing out incessantly over the never-resting ocean. In a strong north-westerly gale I have stood here and watched the white passion of the waves surging round the rocky islets of Le Bas Plat, and marking out the beaconed reef beyond with

long lines of foam : while there amid all the turmoil was Our Lady of the Billows with gently-bent head, reposeful, beautiful, benign !

It may be noted as a curious feature in Breton church sculpture that the figure of the Devil is met with in two instances within the sacred building. In the façade of the massive pulpit of the *paroisse* of St. Servan the central buttress is supported by a crouching effigy of Satan, winged and in chains. Similarly, in the Eglise St. Malo, Dinan, the base of the *bénitier* is a quaint, grisly carving of the Prince of Darkness.

The wayside crosses and calvaries of this nook of Bretonland are another feature of interest. They are numerous and some of them antique. Usually they are seen at cross-roads, or in other conspicuous spots, and are mostly of hard stone. Of the modern forms, a typical one is such as may be seen at La Perrine village and elsewhere ;—a small plain cruciform pillar superscribed with the I.N.R.I., on its pedestal the epigraph, 'O Crux Ave Spes Unica,' and underneath this the monogram I.H.S. Good specimens of earlier styles are found at La Huprée, St. Coulomb, La Tiolat, La Bazare, St. Etienne, St. Vincent, etc. These are really small-sized calvaries with the crucifix carved in high relief, and have almost invariably the I.N.R.I. label above it ; while the I.H.S. is sometimes inscribed at one end of the traverse. The St. Vincent cross is peculiar in having the adjunct of a human skull embossed beneath the feet of the Saviour. Neither amongst Scottish, Welsh, nor Manx crosses can I recall an example of this. But not long since I was shown in the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Waterford a silver crucifix, gifted to the church in 1752 by one Lawrence Carey of Cadiz, which has the same grisly emblem of the death's-head, but along with the cross-bones, and in the same position as in the St. Vincent calvary ; and I am told it is not uncommon to find the skull represented on portable crucifixes of modern make. In Breton crosses, too, the sacred figure commonly bears the crown of thorns. At St. Bénéit des Ondes, an ancient half-asleep fishing village, situated on the flats of the great bay which encircles Mont St. Michel,

there is a venerable parish church, and just outside it a quaint stone cross of quite different type, more like some of the British or Irish-Celtic examples. It stands some twelve feet high, and is mounted on a triple pedestal. One face depicts the Crucifixion; on the reverse are a small empty niche below a tiny *relievo* cross, one or two other minor details not easy to decipher, and an inscription. Nearly all these crosses are octagonal in section, that is, both shaft and arms are cut to eight facets; whereas our own are mostly rectangular slabs, the face width much exceeding the thickness.

The modern *Calvaires*, often constructed of wood, are much taller and more conspicuous objects in the landscape than the older stone crosses. Occasionally the figure of the Crucified upon them is very artistically rendered, with real passion and pathos, (as at St. Ideuc). On the other hand, sometimes the sculpturing strikes one as feeble and ineffective (at Rotheneuf, for example), and, where paint is added, it makes matters worse. Nevertheless, the sentiment of reverence these symbols of the Divine Master evoke in the passers-by is real and commendable. In general, the men doff their hats and the women cross themselves, as they are wont to do in passing the gates of cemeteries, or even a church, or when encountering a funeral procession. There are those who might cavil at the saluting of a calvary, and pronounce it the bowing down to a graven image rather than the sign of adoration of the One symbolised. To me it has always seemed that the underlying *motif* of these wayside representations is to bring home to all a national public recognition of the cardinal doctrine of the Catholic Faith. 'O vos omnes, qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte' . . . is the solemn appeal to every wayfarer. In truth, these customs have something to teach to those Protestants who account but little of religious emblems, and whose churches and chapels are for the most part locked up six days out of the weekly seven.

A mile or more from St. Servan, on the road skirting the eastern shore of La Rance, is a wooden calvary with the spear and sponge attached cross-wise. This is not a common type in the tract of country we are considering, but it is frequently

met with in calvaries of Romish churchyards in the County of Donegal.

Among the religionary externals of Petite-Bretagne the domiciliary shrines of saints are another characteristic feature. Many dwelling-houses have them, usually niched in or attached to the walls, sometimes over gateways. A large proportion of these sanctuaries contain a robed effigy of the Blessed Virgin and Child with a written imploration; but other canonized saints less illustrious occasionally figure. It would seem as though they took the place of the ancient Lares, placed where they are as sacred tutelaries of the house for the safeguarding of the family. The shrine of Our Lady is frequently flanked on either side by a small lantern, and as often as not the appended invocation reads, 'O Marie, priez pour nous.' In the Rue des Lauriers, St. Malo, I lighted upon one over a carpenter's shop, where the pious supplication is rather more extended:—

'O Marie, conçue sans péché,  
Priez pour nous qui avons recours à vous.'

I suppose a Breton cemetery is pretty much like other French burial-grounds. Every grave has a tall cross at its head, generally with the addition of a small crucifix and sometimes a statuette of the Virgin Mother. But what strikes an English eye as most peculiar is the invariable metal wreath attached to the front of the cross. These wreaths are circular, and composed of an elaborate wire framework strung with glass beads varying in colour: so that one sees black wreaths, black and white, mauve, light blue. Others, again, are made up of artificial tinsel leaves and flowers: I have noted white imitation roses relieved on a ground of *black* leaves! The wreaths are in some cases labelled '*à mon époux*,' '*à ma mère*,' etc. The general effect of serried rows of these heavily bedecked tombs is not pleasing or restful to the eye, and conveys, I think, a sense of tawdriness and conventionality. It is fair to add, however, that natural shrubs and flowers are planted over many of the graves, as with us. As regards inscriptions on the monuments, the most usual form following the recital of particulars of the deceased is simply, '*Priez*



pour lui,' or 'priez Dieu pour elle.' On some appear 'De Profundis,' on others 'Regrets' or 'Regrets éternels,' a phrase which somehow sounds rather commonplace and inadequate. In the resting places of children, again, a phraseology much in vogue is, 'Cher petit ange, priez pour tes parents.' But one misses in these Breton graveyards the fuller appeal to the by-passer which is so commonly seen on Roman Catholic tombstones on our side of the water :—'Of your charity pray for the soul (or repose of the soul) of . . .'. At least I have very seldom met with it in this part of Brittany. I can recall, however, one example at St. Suliac, where on a wooden memorial cross is written 'Priez Dieu pour son âme,' with the addition of five *tears* painted in black upon it! One notices, too, the rarity of the benedictory expression, 'Requiescat in pace,' or 'R.I.P.' Above the entrance gate of the St. Servan cemetery on the Chateaneuf road there appears the apposite quotation from Holy Writ :—'Mon royaume n'est pas de ce monde.'

Before leaving the subject of things ecclesiological and religious, let me take the reader to a *Fête-Dieu*, as it is called, one of the chief ceremonials of the Latin Church. It is generally observed in France on the Sunday within the Octave of the festival of Corpus Christi, and the solemn function then enacted is known as the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament. I once witnessed its celebration at St. Malo in the middle of June, and what takes place is this. The processional leaves the cathedral sometime before noon, makes a circuit through certain streets, and returns to the church. All along the route are erected temporary altars ('reposoirs') with floral decorations, emblems of 'La Vierge' and other saints, and lighted tapers. The cortège consists of civic officers, black-robed nuns, novices wearing white crowns; *filles de Marie* clad wholly in white, collegiate students and school children in distinctive coloured uniforms and badges; acolytes, thurifers, banners and crucifixes; ecclesiastics many and all bareheaded, some in simple alb, some arrayed in gorgeous cloth-of-gold copes. Two or three of these last walk underneath an ornate palanquin-shaped canopy, and bear with them the richly gilded

pyx or monstrance containing the Host. The entire route is festooned overhead, lined with side decorations of natural flowers, and overlaid with greenery of rushes, etc.: while rose leaves are strewn here and there by white-robed and white-chapleted boys. At each of the *reposoirs* the procession halts for a short service of prayer; the monstrance containing 'Le Saint Sacrement' is deposited on the altar by the chief priest, and at its elevation the concourse of people kneel and cross themselves; church bells toll, *salutes de fusil* are fired; and then the train moves on to the next stopping-place. Chanting of clerics, bugles and drums of 'pompiers,' and an orchestral band, are the musical accompaniments. The attitude of the assembled populace is distinctly devout, and everything that could be desired for orderliness.

A serious petty annoyance to a foreigner visiting France, or at least this northern region of it, is the diverse silver coinage in circulation, and the difficulty of ascertaining which coins are legal tender and which are not. For sometime back until a recent date certain foreign silver of the decimal currency was, I believe, by common consent admitted into France at its par value, and the consequence of this was an uncommon influx of silver specie into the French *caisses* and the State coffers, particularly from Italy. With the constantly depreciating value of silver this became a serious fiscal question, and in self-defence France has had to check the free import of foreign white metal. Indeed, I have been told that she has still in her public Treasury something like three millions sterling of this depreciated silver, which she cannot now get rid of except at a heavy loss. The result has been a monetary arrangement (*convention monétaire*) concluded at Paris on 15th November, 1893, between France, Belgium, Greece, Italy, and Switzerland: which came into effect in France in 1894, and which is promulgated in an official table indicating all coinage of gold, silver, and bronze the *Caisses d'Etat* would thereafter accept at par value. In brief, then, the foreigner finds the following state of things. All Italian silver is barred save certain mintages of 5-franc pieces, and all silver money of the ex-Papal States is rejected. 5-franc pieces of the Scandinavian

Kingdom from 1818 onwards, and of the United Kingdom of Italy of 1873 and 1879 appear in the figured lists of money accepted by French law. All Belgian coins of that value are accepted. But as regards the 2-franc, 1-franc, half-franc, and 20-centime bits—whether French, Belgian, Greek, or Helvetic—none of date anterior to 1866 are legally current; though, for French small silver, this prohibition is relaxed a good deal. Yet, again, *some* of the Swiss and Hellenic silver pieces in *all* the values (subsequent to 1866) are authorised in the official Table; but unfortunately in actual practice French people, shopkeepers and others, won't always take them in payment, though the same persons will freely pass them to you in change. Spanish silver, and all white metal of other nationalities not specified above, are rigorously refused. Thus, the confusion resulting from all this medley of exceptions can be imagined. With gold or bronze and copper currency of the different countries there is practically no difficulty: it is with the silver that the trouble comes in. What happens is this. An English visitor comes over here, changes his English into French money, and in due course receives small silver change in a shop, tramcar, hotel, or elsewhere. When next he pays out any sum in *argent*, he will notice the payee scrutinising each coin narrowly, and turning it over. Then, the chances are, one or more of his silver coins which he has previously been given in change, will be refused. This is not an agreeable experience, especially if, as is frequently the case, the refusal is accompanied by a frown or gesture of suspicion, and a significant point to the device on the disc as much as to say, 'So you were trying to palm off this bad money on me, were you?' The stranger's only safeguard is to examine carefully every silver coin before accepting it: and, as one cannot carry in one's head the entire contents of the numismatic Table, to accept none but French *argent blanc*, or perhaps Belgian which is scarcely ever challenged.

A *propos* of specie current in France, let the visitor note among the Italian coins the historically interesting 5-lire piece stamped 'Napoleone Imperatore e Re 1813.' I may add that some of the earlier Napoleonic pieces in circulation are fine

and characteristic specimens of mintage, exhibiting a beautiful clear-cut profile of the great dictator. Of such are the 5-franc bits imprinted 'Bonaparte Premier Consul An IX.,' a similar one of 'An XI.,' and the coins lettered 'Napoléon Empereur' of 'An 13,' 1808, and 1812.

St. Malo used to do an enormous trade with England in French butter, which fetched a high market price. As many as 120 tons of that commodity at £100 per ton would cross the water in a single steamboat cargo. But the superior Danish trade has spoilt all this, and now it is no longer worth while to ship butter from Breton ports to England. Eggs, however, like vegetables, are still a staple product of exportation. When recently a St. Malo steamer was wrecked off Cape de la Hague in a fog, fifty tons of eggs aboard of her destined for the English market went to the bottom.

No visitor to St. Malo or its neighbourhood should omit to visit that most typical and picturesque of Breton fishing villages, oyster-famed Cancale. Its chief attractions are the wide thoroughfare along the shore of La Houle, the bay of oyster-parks, and the hundreds of fishing boats which at low water may be seen lying high and dry upon its flat expanse of sea-shore. The aspect of this street is essentially foreign. The woodwork of many of the houses, window-jalousies, etc., are painted bright green, and variegated with feminine garments and *chiffons* of sorts hung out or strewn about, mostly vermeil-red or crimson of hue—a rich *mélange* of colour. Here and there a domicile displays a shrine (such as I have already described) of the Virgin, or of the Saviour, recessed in the walls. In mid-street, over against the jetty of La Houle, stands a lofty calvary, the foot of the rood surmounting a large gilt globe. The costumes of the fisher folk of Cancale are very distinctive. Burly-framed women, comely and strong-featured, ruddy and weather-beaten, young and aged, clad in dark homespun and short skirts, with huge creels on their backs—calling to mind the robust, strapping, basket-laden fisher-wives of Scottish Newhaven or St. Andrews. The Cancale males are more foreign-looking, but among the elderly ones the same sturdy bluntness that seems to stamp the old

salts of every clime is seen in their physiognomies, and there are the same ancient fishlike odours pervading everything and everybody. As I climbed the steep, rough-paved way which leads from the shore quarter to the upper part of the town, a whole troop of *sabot*-shod children burst out of the Communal school and clattered up over the stones with much din of laughter, and that peculiar gait, half-scamper, half-hobble, one sees in a French or Flemish urchin attempting to run in these unwieldy wooden boats.

The chief merchandise of Cancale is the oyster-catch. But in the extreme cold of the winter of 1894-5 thousands of these choice shell-fish were destroyed. Sardines, however, mackerel, whiting, crabs and lobsters, were a good yield, I believe, throughout Brittany, notwithstanding the severity of that most exceptional season. From the high ground above the sea-beach one has a fine view on a clear day towards the Normandy coast, with the bold isolated rock of Mont St. Michel dim in the distance.

In the summer of 1758 the inhabitants of Cancale saw an unwonted sight, the landing of a British force numbering some 10,000 men. The expedition was commanded by a ducal descendant of the illustrious Marlborough; and the English advanced upon and occupied the open town of St. Servan. Here Marlborough destroyed store-houses, timber-yards, and a great quantity of shipping, with scarce any loss to our side save a few men killed by a chance shot from the fortress of St. Malo. The troops then returned to Cancale, and re-embarked there. According to one account the Cancale people fled from their village, which was plundered, with the result that one English soldier was hanged, and seven seamen were flogged for their share in the pillaging.

Dinard, the fashionable and delightfully situated seaside resort for French, English, and American plutocrats, is reached in twenty minutes by steamboat from St. Malo and St. Servan, but, being to westward of the river Rance, is outside the scope of this article.

The inexorable limitations of space preclude my attempting any detailed account of the town of St. Servan; but I will



single out one object of interest it contains, and that probably the most noteworthy, the Solidor Tower. This curious structure, erected by a Duke of Bretagne in the 14th century, is built upon an outjutting rocky point of the Rance estuary, and is of unusual triangular shape. It consists of three towers with short intervening lengths or curtains of parapet wall, the whole being loopholed and machicolated with heavily projecting corbels. The place has been used at various periods of its history as a State prison, and what constitute perhaps its most interesting relics are the names and records of various unlucky captives who were shut up here. These memorial scribblings are to be seen here and there rudely carved on the interior woodwork of the building. In one of the large chambers of the castle you see a huge and wide wooden staging boarded across to form two tiers or storeys, one above the other. These were for use as dormitories by the political prisoners, and to afford them a rough and ready way of climbing up to their elevated sleeping platforms, small three-cornered wood blocks or steps are nailed to the supporting posts after the fashion one sees in many a big flag-staff. On one of these posts is cut in lettering of the last century, 'Nicolas Wall, grenadier 79' (an Englishman?), and underneath is some other name over the date 1779. On an adjoining post someone else has autographed himself and appended the numerals 1799. Upon yet another post we read, 'Baudrian caporal de 79.' Coming to an oak shutter covering a grated window high up in the winding stairway of the building, we find quite a treasury of old souvenirs. Someone, apparently a Portuguese, engraves a masonic symbol (the crossed compasses) and then his record :—

' Pedro Garcia Dacunha,  
Lisboa, 1813, Abril 27, etc., . . . '

with the drawing of a ship. Next we decipher 'H. Burmeister.' 'Dehaes 1812,' 'Jonathan Hust. Mary Port,' with a heart outlined; 'Gregoire voleur,' this last a singular entry, for even Dogberry would hardly have lent himself to be writ down a thief!

In a lower room are seen the squares of an improvised

chess-board indented deep into the floor, the work of some inmate of the place trying to relieve the tedium of his own and his fellow-prisoners' bondage. Some adjacent names cut on the flooring may possibly be those of the chess players. On the shutters of another window, a slope lower down in the 'escalier' we get into Scotch company. 'John M'Iver Greenock' dates his entry 1781. Next we learn that 'Richard Davidson was taken on board the ' (name of ship illegible). 'Hector M'Phail' announces himself 'from Greenock 1793.' Then there are 'A. Kells 1768,' and 'T. Price 1758.' This last record suggests a surmise; for 1758, as we have seen, was the year in which St. Servan was raided by British soldiers, and it was in the same year that General Bligh's expeditionary troops were so disastrously cut up by a superior French force under D'Aiguillon at St. Cast, which is but a short distance from St. Servan. This Price, then, may have been a soldier, or somebody associated with one or other of these expeditions, and so have been made prisoner and consigned to Solidor. Still descending the stairs, one finds a third window with its tell-tale shutter; and here we note the following inscriptions:—'W. Dick of Perth N.B. taken in the Success of Poole:' 'Robt. Jones of Trinity taken in the Success of Poole.' This vessel from the Dorset Port was, it appears, driven into St. Malo harbour by stress of weather during one of our wars with the great Napoleon, and the crew were interned in the tower of Solidor. Two contiguous inscriptions read, 'C. O'Malley Westport taken May the X. 1812:' and 'Taken by . . . in the Mariae of Dear Dublin, Capt. Cra(w)ford.' To finish with, I will quote the unique and somewhat droll comment of a discontented French prisoner reduced to sleep on a couch of straw:—'Garcin, reduit a coucher sur la paille Jan. 1816.'

From these specimens it will be gathered what an interesting collection of gleanings from a past century are stored up in this old tower. Who knows but that even the random scribbings of the 'trippers' and 'globe-trotters' of to-day may under the mellowing hand of time come to acquire an anti-quarian interest for our posterity!

It would never do to discourse on Brittany, and pass over without a word what is perhaps its prime attraction; the excellence of its climate. 'Why' asks Horace, 'do we want to change to lands warmed by another sun?\*' The Englishman's answer would commonly be:—'Because one's own sun is not warm enough.' Certainly the brilliant sunshine—what Pindar in one of his Pythian odes calls 'the golden strength of Aelios'—and fresh crisp clear air of the Breton coast, draw many English across the silver streak who, when they have come, often come to stay. People whose constitutions cannot stand the damp hyemal cold of the British Isles can winter over here with impunity. Occasionally there are short spells of frost, but it is a *dry* cold with an absence of fogs; and, as we have noted, spring is upon you something like a month earlier than on the northern side of the Channel.

I should have liked to discuss other distinctive phases of Breton life. Certain types of women, for example. The brisk *bonne* of primitive manners and *égalité* sentiments; the bereaved female condemned by the rigour of custom to wear during her first year of mourning a lengthy opaque crape veil covering her face, with the choice in the second year of shifting it to one side or hanging it like a folded curtain down her back; the stout woman in knickerbockers and white flannel *Tam o' Shanter*, who bicycles with her *mari* and a string of her male and female offspring; the sharp, alert shopwoman and her ways; the much-dressed yet *feminine* dame and demoiselle of the better sort, possessed of that engaging gaiety of manner which some Frenchwomen acquire à *merveille*. Or, again, varieties of the soldier class, for even the French infantry-private, 'Piou-piou' as he is nick-named, looks to advantage among the territorial regiments of northern France, by reason of his bronzed complexion, comparatively sturdy build, and other aptitudes. But for these themes time and space are lacking; they would want an article all to themselves. So, too, one might write a treatise on the many notable personages who figure in Malouin annals. Suffice it to mention

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\* *Carminum*, Lib. II., xvi., 18.

Jacques Cartier, founder of French Canada, born in an old farm-house, still standing, not two miles from Paramé. The two noted corsairs of many daring exploits, Robert Surcouf and Duguay-Trouin, the latter born (1673) in a handsome half-timbered house with carved wood escutcheon in the Rue de Chatillon. Lammenais of the 'Incorruptibles,' priest and famous controversialist, author of *Paroles d'un croyant*, which ran through a hundred editions and was translated into all the European languages. The Vicomte de Chateaubriand, distinguished *littéraire* and statesman, whose tomb is to be seen on the Ile de Grand Bey. Of all these celebrities St. Malo was the birthplace.

I will conclude this article with two extracts from French newspapers which will show that even in the accessible and much-visited region of Petite-Bretagne I have been describing, the wolf and the wild boar are not yet extinct. On 20th March, 1895, a correspondent writes from St. Brieuc to *Le Petit Journal* as follows:—

'During the great cold which has prevailed this year, the wolves have shown themselves in very great numbers in Brittany. Some wolves, separate or wandering in packs (*bandes*) have been seen in regions where they never ventured to appear before; and their hunger, sharpened by the rigorous cold, forced them to approach habitations and evince unwonted boldness.

'At the entrance of St. Brieuc, at Plérin, numbers of wolves have been seen lately, and the keeper (*garde*) of the estate *des Rosaires* has succeeded in killing two of them. Others of these inconvenient neighbours have been seen in various parts of the district (*arrondissement*) of Dinan, at Carheil, at Quincourbe, and at Plouër.

'One of them, even, which had ventured upon an enormous ice-block on the Rance, over against the port of St. Hubert, only owed its safety to the currents which brought it back to land, and partly also to the unskilfulness of the shooter who missed it.

'Not far from the forest of La Hunandaye, near the cemetery of Pludono, a resident of Plancoët, M. Emile Langlois, was attacked by one of these famished carnivora (*carnassiers*). He was only saved by his dagger-knife, and by the energetic struggle he maintained against his redoubtable adversary.'

St. Hubert, it may be mentioned, is close to St. Suliac, and within a few miles drive of Paramé and St. Servan. Another

correspondent contributes the following paragraph from Vannes in April of the same year.

'For several weeks past a score of wild boars have been ravaging the estates situated in the neighbourhood of Colpo. Their audacity is such that latterly a troop of seven of these animals has passed through this town (*bourg*) in open day after noontide.'

I hope I may have succeeded in these pages in bringing the reader somewhat *en rapport* with a corner of France that will certainly repay a visit, and give him a fairly good idea of our next door Continental neighbours. There would be a much better chance of extinguishing insular prejudices and establishing an 'entente cordiale' between two great adjoining countries if their peoples could mix more freely by means of travel and interchange of ideas. For, as Lord Dufferin most truly told an audience in Paris not long since,\* 'One great impediment to a perfect understanding between the English and French is our mutual ignorance of each other's habits of thought, character, and customs.'

T. PILKINGTON WHITE.

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#### ART. V.—R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK.

**I**N the year which has just closed, Scotland has lost, in the death of R. W. Cochran-Patrick of Woodside, one whose life is a standing rebuke to those who say that the Scots gentleman of the old school has ceased to exist, and whose work may well be taken as an example of what a country gentleman may do in the public service.

Lately the Scottish country gentleman has been accused of a new crime. Our modern Sir Arthur Wardours and Monkbarnses are pronounced a degenerate race, ashamed of the country of their birth. 'They receive,' says a contemporary, 'their education at

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\* Speech at a French reception of the British Institution of Naval Architects, 11th June, 1895.



Eton and Oxford, not at the parish school, the academy of the county town, or one of the national universities. They are rarely seen in the county town except when a general election forces them out of their social shell, or when, with their family, they patronise a county assembly from which the citizens are vigorously excluded.' No doubt the Scottish country gentleman of to-day is not quite the same person as Scott delighted to depict him. We frankly admit that, in many cases, he receives his education in England, and often prefers London to Edinburgh, but no sacrifice of any principle is thereby involved, nor does it follow that an education obtained in England must necessarily destroy or impair the best characteristics of a true Scot. In the following sketch of a career which has just closed, will be found ample indication of the valuable public work which can be done by a county gentleman. Sufficient evidence will further be given that strong, independent, patriotic Scotsmen have not ceased from the land.

Robert William Cochran-Patrick was born at Ladyland, in Ayrshire, in 1842. His father, William Charles Patrick of Waterside, was the second son of Robert Patrick of Trearne, Ayrshire. His mother was the heiress of Ladyland, a property in the adjoining parish. He received his early education, according to the old Scottish custom, at the hands of private tutors. Matriculating at Edinburgh University in 1857, he secured prizes in Classics, Logic, and Moral Philosophy. In 1861 he took the degree of B.A., then given for the last time at this University, passing first in Metaphysics and Logic.

Of Cochran-Patrick's college-life in Edinburgh little need be said. He had proved that he possessed considerable ability, and this was recognised not only by the professors but by his fellow-students, for we find amongst the certificates granted him at this time, one by Prof. Campbell Fraser which bears that 'Mr. Cochran-Patrick obtained one of the higher honours of the class by the votes of his fellow-students.' Somewhat significant this, for the old-fashioned custom, now long abolished, of awarding prizes by the votes of the whole class, was eminently practical, and never abused. The student who won distinction did so on his general appearance in the class as well as examination-room. In these

days the opportunities of forming friendships at a Scottish University were few indeed. The social side of college-life, which is so marked a characteristic of the English University, was conspicuous by its absence, and this Cochran-Patrick never forgot. In later years, when identified with University reforms, he did all in his power to assimilate in this respect the Scottish to the English system.

Leaving Edinburgh, he entered at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in the autumn of 1861. Then, as now, this famous Hall was *par excellence* the leading athletic college at the University, and no doubt the undergraduates in residence would be anything but pleased at the prospect of a moral science recruit from Scotland, who, the chances were, might be a confirmed bookworm. 'A man of the name of Patrick is coming here,' remarked Ben Latham, the genial college tutor, to a freshman; 'he has rather distinguished himself in Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, but I am afraid he won't find it very useful here.' But Cochran-Patrick was no mere 'bookworm.' His kind, hearty manner speedily won him many friends. The late Mr. Fawcett, and his biographer, Mr. Leslie Stephen, 'Bob' Romer, senior wrangler, now one of Her Majesty's judges; Mr. Renshaw, and Mr. Milvain, both Q.C.'s, Canon Dyke, Sheriff Speirs, and Mr. Edward Ross, were amongst the residents in college destined to future distinction, with whom Cochran-Patrick was on terms of more or less intimacy. He had none of the difficulty, commonly attributed to Scotsmen, of forming cordial relations with strangers, on the contrary his peculiar charm of manner was his chief characteristic, and his friendships, once made, were rarely if ever lost. For Mr. Fawcett he entertained the sincerest admiration. Both were great walkers, and before long they became familiar figures on the neighbouring roads. In later years Cochran-Patrick would recall the surprise he felt at the innumerable questions Fawcett put with regard to the state of the crops, the nature and amount of stock, etc., on the various farms they might pass. When, however, he had spent several evenings in the combination-room, and there heard the blind man entertaining some stranger with a minute and accurate account of the agricultural outlook in the neighbourhood, the

quality of Farmer So-and-so's crop and the condition of his stock, his surprise changed to admiration for one who could so completely overcome a serious physical infirmity.

Cochran-Patrick could scarcely be called an athlete, as judged by the more modern standard, but he was a thorough believer in the muscular side of college life. He became captain of one of the boats of the 'Hall'—the familiar name to distinguish it from the College of Trinity—and carried off the University Challenge Cup for walking, besides several other athletic prizes. His energy was unbounded. He received a commission in the rifle Volunteers, shot in a winning four with Mr. Edward Ross, the first Queen's prizeman, and became an enthusiastic member of the Amateur Dramatic Club, then under the management of Mr. F. C. Burnand. As a whist player, he proved his talents in the Caledonian Card Club. In the examination-room he had a happy knack of always having a ready answer, and on one occasion he reversed the order of things and puzzled his examiner. He had been asked at a divinity 'viva' examination what was known of St. Matthew's later life. 'He went to the north of Africa and died there,' was the answer, given with such assurance that the questioner passed hurriedly on, doubtless concluding that some recent light had been thrown on the subject. In 1864 he took the honours degree of LL.B.

Leaving Cambridge, he returned to Edinburgh for a year with a view to qualifying for the Scottish Bar. This idea, however, was abandoned. In 1866 he married Eleanora, younger daughter of Mr. Hunter of Hunterston, and settled at Woodside, a property left him by his granduncle. In a county like Ayrshire, where every form of sport—hunting, shooting, fishing—can be enjoyed at their best, country life may very easily drift into an incessant round of amusement. From boyhood Cochran-Patrick had been a keen sportsman. To him 'The Twelfth' was always a red-letter day in the year, and to secure a good bag he was willing to undertake any amount of hard work and fatigue. He had a strong bent towards natural history, and would lie out on the moors for hours watching the wild fowl and studying their habits. Animals appeared to recognise him at once as a friend, and his love for dogs was a

marked characteristic; indeed, it was common for him to have five or six terriers in his house—sometimes to the dismay of his friends—besides a well-filled kennel. To one with tastes such as these, the sporting-side of country life must have presented peculiar attractions, but he never allowed sport to monopolise his attention. Throwing himself with the utmost vigour into local and county business, he became a Captain in the Militia, Chairman of the Parish School and Parochial Boards, sat on the bench as a J.P., served as Convener of the Finance Committee of the County of Ayr, and became a Director of the Glasgow & South-Western and City Union Railway Companies. We are often told that an English education leads to Episcopacy. Not so with Cochran-Patrick. Remaining a strong supporter of the Presbyterian form of worship, he had the advantage of being in agreement in Church matters with the people of Ayrshire—a county in which Presbyterianism has been predominant since the days of the Covenanters—and this perhaps had something to do with the popularity he soon acquired in the district. We must not omit to note his connection with Freemasonry. Joining Mother Lodge, Kilwinning, he rapidly rose through the various degrees of the craft, finally becoming Provincial Grand Master of Ayrshire.

As a county man, Cochran-Patrick had thus at an early period in his career proved his value. He had shewn that he was fully alive to the responsibilities and duties of the landlord and county gentleman. It was plain that he intended to serve his country and those around him to the utmost of his power. Yet, for one possessing his ability, culture, and literary taste, mere county business did not afford sufficient scope. For many years he had taken a deep interest in archæology. Even at Cambridge he made it a special study, and he now began to devote much of his time to this interesting subject. In 1870 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and at the ensuing meeting read a paper on certain relics recently found amongst the remains of a lake-dwelling discovered in Kilbirnie Loch, on the border of his property.

This was the beginning of a long series of most valuable contributions communicated at the meetings of the Society and

since published in their 'Proceedings.' It was largely at his instance that the Index which rendered the contents of these Proceedings so much more available was undertaken. The value of these contributions and of others which appeared in various papers and magazines was soon recognised.

In 1871 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and in 1874 he was sent to Stockholm to represent Great Britain at the International Congress of Archæology. Three years later the Ayrshire and Wigtonshire Archæological Association was founded. Cochran-Patrick became one of the Honorary Secretaries and the success with which this Society was carried on for many years was in great part due to his efforts. To the first volume of a series published under its auspices he contributed two articles and a preface in which the aims and scope of the undertaking were explained: and many of the subsequent volumes are enriched by notes from his most accurate pen. It is a singular fact that shortly before his death it was resolved that, having now fulfilled its mission, the Society should be dissolved.

Numismatics is a science never likely to become very popular but certain always to number among its votaries many enthusiasts. As a boy Cochran-Patrick had collected coins of many varieties. In later years, finding that a general collection was likely to prove unsatisfactory, he devoted himself solely to the study and collection of the coins of Scotland. He became a member of the Numismatic Society of London and a frequent contributor to the *Numismatic Journal*. On this subject he published in 1877 his first book entitled *Records of the Scottish Coinage from the earliest period to the Union*. The work was received with a chorus of praise. 'It is clear,' said the *Athenæum*, 'that the author has performed his task of research and collection in such a way that it will not for a long time have to be done again, and this is high praise. The Introduction contains in brief space a summary of all the important facts in the history of Scottish money, an account of the processes of coining, of the offices of the mint, of the course of legislation, together with a precis of all the documents contained in the body of his two volumes. It is at once terse and accurate, and the fulness of



the references at the foot indicates a writer whose one care is to convey to his readers the utmost amount of information in return for the smallest amount of honest study.' Many dubious points which had hitherto puzzled the brains of the most ardent numismatists were cleared up, and, though twenty years have elapsed since their publication, the volumes still remain the standard work on the subject.

Cochran-Patrick's collection of Scottish coins is well nigh unrivalled, and is said by an interviewer, who visited Woodside to report upon its owner, to contain at least one specimen of unique value, a tiny silver coin marked 'Malcolmus Rex,' silver pennies of the cross type of Alexander, the £20 gold piece of James VI., beautiful pieces of Mary, pistoles coined from gold brought home from the Darien expedition, and a small silver farthing of The Bruce's reign amongst the 1000 odd coins which comprise the collection. Many of the rarest specimens were from the collection originally in the possession of the Faculty of Advocates. These had lain for years in a curious old cabinet, which stood in their library at the Parliament House, Edinburgh. How it got there no one could tell and when the Faculty decided to dispose of the coins a difficulty arose as to the cabinet. Its value was doubtful and after some bargaining it was handed over to a public museum for £50. Here it remained until one day a stranger, who appeared to be a French tourist, inquired if it was for sale, adding that he would give £500 for it there and then. This extraordinary offer aroused the suspicion of the museum officials. Measurements were taken to ascertain whether there might be a secret drawer. Antiquarians were appealed to, with the result that a dealer from London offered £1000 for the once despised cabinet. The Frenchman increased his offer to £1500, and eventually became the owner at £3,500. The cabinet was one of a pair which had belonged to Louis XIV.; the other was in the possession of a Rothschild, and the Frenchman got £5000 for its neighbour.

But Cochran-Patrick did not study numismatics from antiquarian sentiment alone. He held that in coins we have some of the purest examples of early art. Speaking upon this aspect of his favourite study at a meeting of the Scottish Society of

Literature and Art in 1887, he said:—‘Art sculpture receives its greatest illustration from Greek medals; and were it not for their minute size they would form one of the finest sources of study in the world, they preserve for us some of the finest works of sculpture which the world has ever seen. The statues have long been destroyed and were it not that they have been produced on the coins, possibly by the same artist, we should have been altogether ignorant of them. If the whole history of the Middle Ages, from the disintegration to the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, was blotted out and only coins remained, we could predicate the fall of the Great Roman Empire as easily as if we had been standing by when the whole thing took place. In coins, every individual who has any time at all to devote to intellectual culture, can get original and rare works of Greek artists infinitely superior in every point of view to more than three-fourths of all the existing examples of Greek art.’

While engaged in examining the early documents relating to the mint prior to the publication of the *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, Cochran-Patrick came across many unpublished papers relating to mines and mining. In 1878 he collected these documents in a handsome volume called *Records relating to Mining in Scotland*. These records were preceded by an introduction of considerable length, containing much valuable information, including a short account of the discovery of gold in Scotland and descriptions of the lead and silver mines.

But archæology, numismatics, literature and county business were not destined to retain Cochran-Patrick as all their own. He was nearly 40 years of age and had hitherto taken no part in politics. A country gentleman, antiquary and litterateur, no one could have supposed that he possessed in a marked degree political instincts, which were ere long to bring him to the forefront in public affairs.

In 1880 Sir James Fergusson, who had been selected to stand in the Conservative interest for North Ayrshire, was appointed Governor of Bombay, and Cochran-Patrick at very short notice consented to become the candidate for Parliament. In his first speeches he showed that he possessed a firm grasp of the various questions of the time. Political history and political economy

were evidently no new study to him, and upon all the principal issues raised he had a matured and pronounced opinion. From the outset he made it clear that he was no mere party politician—he reserved the right to use his own judgment with regard to all measures, and resented the interference of wire-pullers. Opposed to ‘any measure tending to weaken the union with Ireland,’ to disestablishment, and in favour of the modification of the then existing rights of owners of heritable property, he was the prototype of the modern Unionist; and glancing back through his speeches one is struck by the correctness with which he read the political barometer.

To be thoroughly conversant with local questions, to be widely known and a ready speaker will carry a candidate a long way towards victory. These qualifications Cochran-Patrick possessed in a marked degree. As Provincial Grand Master Mason he had come across and was personally known to most of the electors in the county. He was a good speaker, and what is even more important in a Scotch election, a good answerer. One of his replies will bear repetition. At a meeting where he had been subjected to a prolonged ‘heckling’ by a believer in peace at any price, and having repeatedly scored heavily by his replies, he was finally asked this poser—‘How, as a Christian, can you justify the Government’s action in carrying on war against a defenceless set of savages?’ ‘How can *you* justify the children of Israel carrying on war against the Philistines?’ was Cochran-Patrick’s prompt reply. On this his first candidature he encountered an opponent worthy of his steel in the person of Mr. J. B. Balfour, whom he defeated after a keen contest by the narrow majority of 55—the figures being 1636 to 1581.

The election of 1880 had gone disastrously for the Conservative party in Scotland. Lord Rosebery scornfully remarked that its representatives might all travel up to London in a first-class compartment, and the man in the street had added, ‘Aye, an’ pit their feet on the seats.’ Indeed there were only seven and Cochran-Patrick was fortunate to be one of them. From the outset he entered enthusiastically upon his Parliamentary duties. On the floor of the House he proved himself a thoughtful speaker, a quick reasoner, and a fair and considerate oppon-

ent, but it was in the lobby and smoking room that he excelled. Here he might be found surrounded by friends of all shades of opinion, all equally delighted with his conversation and endless fund of anecdote and reminiscence. His sincerity and courtesy charmed all with whom he came in contact, and soon made him one of the most popular members of the House.

Yet this very charm of manner which made him so beloved was, strange to say, in some ways a disadvantage to him. It was this which struck everyone who had anything to do with him more than his knowledge. His undoubted powers of mind were put in the shade by his still greater qualities of heart. In after years many a visitor who came to Woodside for the first time, knowing Cochran-Patrick merely by reputation as a distinguished scholar and famous antiquarian, was somewhat surprised to be met in the hall by an erect young-looking man just come in from shooting, with no silver threads in his brown hair, a cordial greeting on his lips, and his whole face lit up by a smile of welcome. Entering the drawing-room dogs and children would run to greet him and he conversed with them in a peculiar language of his own, but which they seemed to understand. Next he was handing about the cups and the cakes and pointing out the merits of the latter in a witty manner to the children. Now he was talking over the sport of the day with the young men and the politics of the hour with the older ones, settling some knotty question by reference to the ponderous volumes in his library, shewing off his coins and the silver binding of some of his old books, talking about flowers to one and farming to another. A brilliant conversationalist, he spoke to amuse his guests, not to show off his learning, so few people realized the research and knowledge implied by the fund of anecdote, information and fun with which his talk was interspersed.

People came to consult him at all hours and on all subjects, how to find situations for their sons and dairy lessons for their daughters, convalescent homes for invalids and institutions for those lacking mentally or physically, how to recover property and how to pass over some financial pressure, and they always found him ready and willing to help. An old political opponent was heard to say that although he differed from him in

opinions, when he wanted justice he always went to Cochran-Patrick.

In his maiden speech, in supporting the Hares and Rabbits Bill introduced by the Government, he gave some indication of the independent manner in which he viewed all political questions. In 1881 Sir John Lubbock brought in a resolution calling upon the Government to provide for the protection of our national ancient monuments. This was a matter very near Cochran-Patrick's heart. In a vigorous speech he warmly supported Sir John's motion, and suggested that a Royal Commission should be appointed to place on permanent record every particular relating to the relics of prehistoric times. The Government refused to accede to this reasonable desire, but on a division were beaten by a majority of 23. He was a strong supporter of the view that Scottish Historical Monuments should be placed in the charge of a Scottish representative body. This unfortunately was not carried and has made the Ancient Monuments Act of less value than it would have been North of the Tweed. It was his interest in the same subjects or rather his equal interest in the present condition and the antiquities of Scotland which led him to press on the attention of the public the necessity for a later and more accurate Statistical Account of Scotland, which, although it has not yet been undertaken, is certain to be at some future day.

Ever since his University days he had taken a warm interest in all educational matters. Over and over again he had urged, both in public and in private, the importance of having a thorough course of Secondary and Technical Education brought within the reach of all, and he now seized the first opportunity of explaining his views to the House of Commons upon this subject. On the 2nd of April Mr. Anderson, senior member for the city of Glasgow and a Liberal, brought forward a motion asking for the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the whole subject of technical education. In seconding this proposal, Patrick urged upon the House the necessity of having the attention of the manufacturers in this country directed to the condition of foreign industries, and to the causes which had fostered them. He pointed out that their progress was largely



due to the recent introduction on the continent of a thorough system of technical education. He strongly advocated the desirability of making a strict investigation into the working of these various systems with a view to adopting something similar in this country. The Government agreed to the proposal, and the Commission which was thereafter appointed presented a most interesting and instructive report on the subject. The favourable reception of his speeches did not beguile him into frequent speaking. He did not address the House except on subjects with which he was thoroughly conversant, and his information was invariably complete and accurate. He was the opposite to the too familiar M.P. bore, who speaks and asks questions about everything.

It would be outside the scope of this paper to do more than touch upon one or two of the more important incidents of Cochran-Patrick's Parliamentary career. In August 1881 an opportunity was afforded him of bringing before the notice of the House an injustice under which Scotland had for many years been suffering, and to which attention had been directed again and again with no result. It arose out of a motion in supply for granting £139,500 for medical relief to the poor in England. In moving the reduction of the vote by £20,000 Cochran-Patrick pointed out that originally in 1848 £85,000 was voted for this laudable object, £75,000 going to England and Wales, and only £10,000 to Scotland. Since then the English Grant had gradually increased to £139,000 per annum, whilst the Scottish had remained at the original figure £10,000. Taking the share of relief due to Scotland either on the basis of property, the sums paid into the imperial exchequer, or by population, he shewed that the result was the same, viz.—that Scotland was unfairly treated. Mr. Gladstone in reply expressed himself in entire sympathy with the motion, and undertook to establish a real and substantial equality in the treatment of the two countries, and was generally so conciliatory that the motion was withdrawn. In the following year, however, the estimates again allowed Scotland only £10,000. Once more the member for North Ayrshire rose to the occasion, and this time with better

result. Scotland was allocated £20,000, which sum she has received ever since.

In 1883 he brought in a resolution of great importance; it was as follows:—‘That in the opinion of this House it is desirable that the want of harmony which exists between the Factory and Education Acts in Scotland be remedied by legislation at the earliest opportunity.’ In speaking to this resolution he said, ‘I want to show that this want of harmony exercises a very injurious effect on the system of education in Scotland; it imposes unnecessary and vexatious duties upon those who are charged with factory superintendence; it imposes additional responsibility on the school boards; it interferes in many cases with the legitimate claims for the supply of labour, and not unfrequently it imposes a very great amount of hardship upon those parents of the working classes who have taken the most efficient means for the education of their children.’ After an interesting debate, Mr. Mundella on behalf of the Government undertook to bring forward a Bill dealing with the subject. The promise was afterwards fulfilled.

The Parliament of 1880 will always be memorable for the late hours and all night sittings occasioned by the obstruction of the Irish members led by Mr. Parnell. It was no uncommon thing for the weary member to be kept at his duties until two or three in the morning. Certainly his office was no sinecure, and it must have been a difficult matter to find time for private work and study.

Fortunately Cochran-Patrick’s love for archæology was strong enough to surmount such difficulties. Most days found him at some hour or another in the British Museum, where he was always a welcome visitor. His wide knowledge of all matters relating to Scottish antiquities was fully recognised, and his aid and advice frequently sought. He would spend hours at a time studying specimens from the collections of British relics and antiques (to which he made several valuable contributions), and searching amongst the ancient records and musty documents. But he went further afield than the British Museum. His greatest amusement was to go round the old curiosity shops of the city and the antique dealers of the west end. He was a born

collector, and could never resist the temptation to add to his numerous treasures. It was in these years that he gathered most of the specimens in his fine collection of James Tassie's portrait medallions and paste reproductions of ancient gems. The medallions which are very beautiful, represent about 70 notable Scotsmen of the last century. Besides Tassie's reproductions Cochran-Patrick succeeded in bringing together an interesting collection of ancient gems,—Egyptian, Persian, Indian, Grecian and Roman. One of these, said to be a portrait of the Virgin, but really of Venus, he procured in rather an odd manner, indicating very strikingly the charm he exercised over every class of person he came across. In one of his rounds he noticed this gem in a curiosity shop kept by an old Jew. Cochran-Patrick was a much respected customer, but the price demanded was exorbitant. On several occasions he made an offer, but his bids were refused, and he had to leave London at the end of the session without the gem. The following year when Parliament met he returned to the shop to find to his regret that the old Jew was dead; but Isaac had remembered his patron. On his deathbed he had charged his son to let Cochran-Patrick have the gem at half his first offer—a request which was faithfully fulfilled.

Besides coins Cochran-Patrick procured by diligent research a fine collection of Scottish medals. It is perhaps the best extant, and is specially rich in specimens of the Stuart dynasty. On this subject he published his third work in 1884 entitled *A History of the Medals of Scotland*. It contained a concise, learned and interesting account of Scottish medals, and like his previous volumes was beautifully illustrated.

In March 1884, he had the great misfortune to lose his wife, who died at Woodside after a few days' illness. Completely prostrated by this sudden blow he was unable to attend to his public duties for several months. Meantime Mr. Gladstone introduced his famous Franchise Bill, and when the member for North Ayrshire returned to his duties at Westminster he found the House of Commons deep in the mysteries of representation and redistribution.

At the general election in 1885, which followed the passing of

the Act, Cochran-Patrick was defeated by the Hon. H. Elliot. Men of all shades of political opinion regretted his exclusion from Parliament. He had shewn himself to be an able and useful member, devoted to the interests of his constituency and Scotland. His intimate and accurate knowledge of county affairs and Scottish local government had been recognised by the members of the House official and private. No matter how small the request or how obscure the person who made it, it was always listened to patiently and courteously, and rarely if ever refused. At a meeting of the Ardrossan and Saltcoats Conservative Association held shortly after the election, Captain Boyle, now the Earl of Glasgow, in handing Cochran-Patrick an address of thanks for his past services to the constituency, said :—

‘ You obtained from the Government a recognition of the just claims of Scotland to equal participation with other parts of the Kingdom in grants for relief of local rates, and an annual grant of £10,000 more than we had hitherto got. You averted undue pressure on local rates by moving the rejection of the Removal Bill, a bill which was intended to settle upon the rates of Scotland aliens who might, by a short residence, have rendered themselves, according to this Act, liable to be supported by us for all time coming. You have also removed anomalies in the working of the Factory and Education Acts, and you have resisted successfully the attempt of the Government to prevent aid being given in future to Scotch Universities. You have further tried, but unfortunately unsuccessfully, to do away with the interference of English Courts in Scotch cases, and I need not remind the gentlemen present that during the last week you were received by a very large and enthusiastic gathering in Glasgow at a dinner which was given to you by the shipowners of that city in gratitude for the assistance which you had given to Mr. Cowen in frustrating the attempts of the Chairman of the Board of Trade to carry legislation through Parliament which would have been most unjust to that great body.’

The address contained this sentence well worth noting :—

‘ Your frank and generous bearing, your kindly regard for the welfare of North Ayrshire, and your thorough knowledge of the customs and rules of the Government departments, gained you the esteem of all political parties, and it can be truly said that you have not made a single enemy.’

On the loss of his seat Cochran-Patrick did not retire into private life. He again threw himself into county affairs, educational and university reform, and into his favourite studies.

He accepted an invitation unanimously given by the County Conservative Association to become their candidate at the next election, which it was felt by all could not long be delayed. These surmises proved to be correct. Mr. Gladstone introduced his famous Home Rule Bill, and the dissolution quickly followed. But no contest took place. The Honourable H. Elliot, his old opponent, had voted against Mr. Gladstone's measure, and now came before the constituency as a Unionist, supported by a large body of Liberal Unionists. The Conservative vote would assure his return, and Cochran-Patrick at once loyally withdrew and accorded his old opponent his valuable support. On hearing that he was no longer the candidate for North Ayrshire several constituencies at once applied for his services, but their proposals were declined. After all he was far more of the country gentleman than of the Parliamentarian. He had come forward at the shortest possible notice to save the Conservatives in his county from a serious dilemma. They no longer required his services, and personally he had no wish to represent any other constituency. In addition the ties of party were perhaps hardly congenial to his broad-minded nature.

In the country life he now returned to he found ample occupation. He took the keenest interest in all agricultural affairs, and though he did not believe in amateur farming, and never attempted it, he had a very thorough knowledge of the subject. Planting and gardening afforded him sincere enjoyment. Axe in hand he would work for days, pruning and thinning the plantations he had laid out. Every tree and shrub in his avenues had at some period been pruned, cut back, or transplanted by him, and each had its history. Country life never had a truer votary.

But he had proved himself too useful a public man to be lost sight of. Towards the close of 1886 he was appointed Assessor to the University of St. Andrews, and in the following year he acted with Messrs. C. S. Parker and Henry Craik as a member of a Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the working of the Scotch Education Act. Shortly afterwards he joined the Fishery Board for Scotland. The duties which these appointments involved were not onerous, and allowed



him ample time to pursue his favourite studies. In 1887 the first of a series of articles upon early Scotland appeared in the *Glasgow Herald*. It dealt with early Scottish agriculture, and was quickly followed by others on manufacture, taxation and commerce. Towards the close of the same year he was appointed Assessor to the University of Glasgow, which had previously conferred upon him the degree of LL.D., in recognition of his literary work.

For several years he had been president of the University Council Association, and in this capacity headed a deputation to Mr. A. J. Balfour, then Secretary for Scotland, for the purpose of urging upon the Government the propriety of adding to the members of the University Council as a preliminary step towards other reforms. But Cochran-Patrick was soon to occupy a position even more favourable for serving the Scottish universities.

In December 1887 it became known that Sir Francis Sandford, Under-Secretary for Scotland, was anxious to retire from his duties, and a rumour soon spread through Ayrshire and the West of Scotland that Cochran-Patrick had been asked to become his successor. On the 23rd of the month, writing to Dr. Carment of Edinburgh, he said: 'I have been offered and accepted the post of permanent Under-Secretary for Scotland. This knocks on the head all future Parliamentary aspirations, and I am not sorry for it. The position involves hard work, but the work is practical, methodical and business-like.' On Christmas day it was publicly announced that the appointment had been made, and that the new Under-Secretary's official duties were to commence immediately. The intimation was received by Liberal and Conservative alike with approval. All agreed that no better choice could have been made.

It would be outside the purpose of this sketch to enter at any length into Cochran-Patrick's career as Under-Secretary for Scotland. The qualities which he had exhibited in Parliament especially fitted him for his new position. He possessed to a marked degree the faculty of making measures acceptable to members, and his colleagues at Dover House will be the first to admit that the undoubted success which attended the Scottish Bills passed through Parliament during his *regimé* was largely

due to his efforts. During his tenure of office he took a special interest in the welfare and development of the congested districts of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. In 1890 he served upon the commission appointed by Lord Lothian to enquire into and report upon the best means of providing a remedy for the unfortunate state of matters existing at that time in the more remote districts. The outcome of this enquiry took the shape of a special annual grant made towards piers, harbour lights, roads and telegraphic extensions. The minor lights which have recently been erected along the West coast of Scotland and adjacent islands resulted from a trip to Norway made by Cochran-Patrick in 1892, for, amongst other reasons, the purpose of seeing how the Trotter-Lindberg system of lighting worked along a coast line very similar to that of Scotland. He was no mere official, but essentially a man of affairs. As a Scots country gentleman, intimately and practically acquainted with every branch of county business he was peculiarly fitted for the position he now occupied. Towards the carrying out of the various administrative changes effected under the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889, he rendered the most valuable assistance. He also took a prominent part in the preparation of the Scottish Universities Bill, 1889. The Scottish measures passed through Parliament by the first Unionist Government were many and complicated, and entailed a vast amount of work upon the officials at Dover House. But the Under-Secretary's duties were not confined to the preparation of measures; he had others more difficult to perform, requiring all his tact, sincerity and apparent frankness.

Ever since the shock occasioned by his wife's sudden death Cochran-Patrick's health had been far from robust. In January 1892 his only son, a lad of great promise, died after a few days illness at Cambridge, where he was in residence as an undergraduate at his father's old college, Trinity Hall. He never fully recovered the shock caused by this second bereavement.

While on an official visit to Scotland three months later he caught a chill which resulted in a severe attack of inflammation of the lungs, and serious apprehensions were entertained that the Under-Secretary's health would not admit of his returning to his

duties. These fears proved too well grounded. On the 15th of June the *Times* announced: 'To the deep regret of the Marquis of Lothian and all the members of the Scotch Office Mr. Cochran-Patrick has been compelled under medical advice to resign the Permanent Secretaryship of the office. Mr. Cochran-Patrick has felt the strain of work ever since the death of his only son a few months ago, and has asked to be relieved from his present position.' It was felt by all that Scotland had lost a respected and valued public servant. 'He was something more than a mere official,' said a correspondent, 'the influence he was able to exercise was always in the direction of widening the basis of legislation and liberalising it. His genial kindly temper made him one of the most accessible and obliging of officials. No visitor from Scotland had ever the least difficulty in getting an interview with him no matter how severe the pressure of departmental work might be.'

About this time his last work entitled *Mediæval Scotland* was issued. The volume which, with two exceptions, was a reprint of articles previously published in the *Glasgow Herald*, contained descriptions of the economic condition of Scotland from the earliest time to the Union. Scottish agriculture, manufactures, taxation, commerce, weights and measures, were separately treated in a most popular style. The volume did not pretend to be a history in the ordinary sense of the word; it filled a gap which had hitherto been unbridged, and contained a variety and abundance of information relating to everyday life in the Scotland of the Middle Ages.

Retiring once more to his home in Ayrshire, Cochran-Patrick sought in a country life the quiet and rest of which he stood in so much need. His health had materially suffered by his severe illness and the constant mental strain and anxiety arising from his official duties during the previous five years. Fortunately he was still a keen sportsman, and by the aid of rod and gun he soon regained strength, and within three months was once more in the thick of county work. The first County Council election was close at hand, and Cochran-Patrick, in response to an unanimous request, became the candidate for the landward division of the parish of Beith. Being returned unopposed, he was in due

course elected chairman of the Northern District Committee of the County, and took particular interest in matters affecting technical and secondary education. His wide knowledge of procedure and long experience proved of the utmost value to the newly elected body. On several occasions he was offered a safe seat in Parliament, but this he always firmly declined.

In the beginning of 1893 he accepted an invitation from the Glasgow Rectorial Club to become a candidate for the Lord Rectorship of the University. Mr. A. J. Balfour's term of office was about to expire, and a large and influential section of the members of the University were extremely anxious that the new Lord Rector should be chosen on non-political grounds. Cochran-Patrick had already twice acted as Assessor of the Glasgow University Court, and had held a like office at St. Andrews. As President of the Scottish University Reform Association, he had done much to promote the changes which had lately been carried out. His services to the cause of higher education, and his experience in all educational matters, gave him strong claims for honour at the hands of the students of Glasgow. Unfortunately this was not to be. Mr. Asquith was nominated by the Liberal Club, and the extreme section of the Conservative party insisted upon having a statesman of the first rank to champion their cause. Sir John Gorst was willing to come, and Cochran-Patrick—too loyal a Conservative to stand in the way—withdraw. In due course Sir John was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University.

As we previously stated, Cochran-Patrick had been placed in 1888 upon the Scottish Fishery Board. With much regret he had resigned the office on his appointment to the Under-Secretaryship for Scotland. It was no doubt partly in recognition of the work then done by him that he was, towards the close of 1894, asked to act upon the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the Tweed and Solway Salmon Fisheries. He most willingly accepted, and in the autumn of the following year, with his brother-Commissioners, visited most of the Border towns, taking evidence and inspecting the rivers. The result of these labours was embodied in an exhaustive report presented to Parliament.

At the beginning of 1896 he was appointed Vice-Chairman of the newly-constituted Fishery Board for Scotland, but he was not destined long to adorn this office. On Friday, the 13th March, 1897 he went to Edinburgh to attend a meeting of the Board. The following day he returned to Woodside, and, feeling unwell, retired to his room. His illness was not considered of a serious nature, and no apprehension was entertained of immediate danger. The end came quite unexpectedly on Monday evening, the 15th of March, the cause being an affection of the heart, from which he had long suffered.

In glancing back upon his career, one is struck by the singularly large amount of good and useful work he was able to perform in the too short life of 55 years. Yet he followed no profession; he belonged to that class whose members are so often in these days decried for their uselessness. But he was no idler. Voluntarily he undertook work which entailed an immense amount of labour, and Scotland—that land where every parish contains some relic of the bye-gone ages, some writing waiting to be read by the master mind—is to-day the richer for his life. Surely no better answer could be given to the cry, or more fitting testimony to the value of his class to the whole community. Educated at Cambridge, his later years passed much in England, preferring London to Edinburgh, he still remained a true Scot. In Politics as in Archæology, to serve the country and the county of his birth was his aim, to further their interests his object.

Cochran-Patrick had no claim to brilliance, nor was his success due to wealth or influential connection. Clear-headedness, commonsense, ready tact, and never-failing courtesy, were his characteristics, combined with a power for hard work and a willingness to take infinite pains. With qualities such as these, it required but an incentive to assure success. This was provided by a keen appreciation of the responsibilities and duties of the country gentleman. To these Cochran-Patrick was fully alive. The old Scots gentleman may have disappeared, but his place is being taken by a younger school who are maintaining his best characteristics, and promise to give no niggardly interpretation of their responsibilities.



## ART. VI.—DAVID, EARL OF HUNTINGDON.

THE fact that, through his descendants, the royal succession of Scotland passed from the old Celtic kings to the houses of Bruce and Stewart, has secured for David, Earl of Huntingdon, the younger brother of William the Lion, the honour of a bare mention at least by every historian of our country. The readers of romance, too, have been made familiar with him, in a fashion, as the hero of the *Talisman*, the chivalrous brother-in-arms of Richard of the Lion Heart in the Third Crusade. It would be perilous, however, to accept the brilliant narrative of the adventures of Sir Kenneth as in any degree a faithful picture of an incident in the life of his original. In the *Talisman*, so far as its Scottish hero is concerned, Sir Walter has departed from the truth of history more widely than was his wont. Not to insist on the marriage with Edith Plantagenet, it is plain, from the preface to the novel, that Scott accepted as sober history what can be proved, by almost certain demonstration, a mere fable made current by the literary skill of the mendacious Boece. In the light of research, Earl David, the warrior of the Third Crusade, becomes an entirely mythic figure, whose pretensions indeed were sharply scrutinised, more than a century ago, by the keen glance of Lord Hailes. The genesis of this crusading romance is one of the oddest puzzles in our history, and the interest of the inquirer is yet farther awakened when the story is found to be not the only myth which gathered round the memory of Earl David during the primitive period of Scottish chronicling. It is evident that ere the close of the fourteenth century the history of the Earl of Huntingdon had been largely obscured and perverted by legend, and it is mainly as showing that mythic development that the annals of Fordun and Wynthoun are in this particular of any interest or value. Fortunately, there is no lack of other and more trustworthy materials, of an earlier and indeed a contemporary date. From the *Chronicle of Melrose* and the entries in our episcopal and monastic chartularies, but above all from the wealth of information in

English chronicles and State papers, it is possible to ascertain at least the chief incidents in Earl David's career, and even to give some notion of his character. To attempt as much will perhaps not be deemed superfluous when the subject of the inquiry is one whose fortune it was to preserve the line of Scottish royalty, and if for nothing else, the effort may be profitable as serving to illustrate the complex relations of English and Scottish feudalism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and as showing a Scottish prince in what must have seemed to later times the abnormal rôle of an English baron.

A Scottish prince, we have said, and yet the term, though convenient enough, is not in this application strictly proper. In the thirteenth century there were no princes, or at least the title had not come to be used in virtue of a connection with a royal house. David I. of Scotland, it is true, had been known as *Cumbrensis regionis princeps* while he ruled that territory in the years between 1107 and 1124, but the term in his case was a mark of his own sovereignty, and had nothing to do with his kinship to Malcolm Canmore and Alexander I. A hundred and fifty years afterwards Edward I. of England, before he succeeded to the throne, was styled simply the Lord Edward, and so the 'Earl of Huntingdon, Prince Royal of Scotland' of the Waverley novel, was to his contemporaries, as one may see from the regular mention of him in charters and from the legend upon his own seal, merely 'Earl David, brother of the King of Scotland.' His father, Earl Henry, the only son of David I., enjoyed those English fiefs of Northumberland and Huntingdon which the 'sair sanct' had acquired for his posterity by marrying the daughter of Earl Waltheof; his mother, Ada, was sister to three of the most powerful barons of England and Normandy, the Earls of Warrenne, Leicester, and Mellent. It was the settled policy of King David to feudalise and, if one may so speak, to Normanise his realm, and by his own marriage and that of his son, his descendants acquired a place, which was not always profitable to them, in the feudal baronage of England. It was in the year 1139 that Earl Henry was wedded to Ada, and thirteen years later he died, a few months before his father, mourned by the whole kingdom,

to borrow the words of John of Hexham, as 'a prince of a gentle disposition, a well-mannered and God-fearing man, abounding in charity to the poor.' Of his three sons, Malcolm and William, who afterwards reigned in succession, were born respectively in 1141 and 1143, so we may conclude that the birth-year of David, the youngest, was soon after the latter date. Yet in the fourteenth century the belief had somehow become current that David was the second of the three brothers, and William the youngest, and that in consequence of the former's absence on crusade, William, on the death of Malcolm IV., succeeded to the throne. This belief is mentioned both by Fordun and Wyntoun, although in a fashion which shews that neither of them shared it, and it is also alluded to as erroneous in an entry in the *Chartulary of Newbottle* (p. 123), which was compiled shortly before 1400. Fordun, indeed, seems to have accepted it in the earlier edition of his history, which the late Dr. Skene described as written about 1363, but in the later rescension, fixed by the same authority at 1385 or thereabout, the error is corrected. Wyntoun, who gives the story merely as a popular notion—

' As sum men sayd, he was the tothir ;  
Nest Malcolme the Madyn, thai sayd, eldast,  
Sa wes Kyng Willame the yhoungast,'

reports it in greater detail. According to his narrative, David was said to have been 'in Sarzines' at William's coronation, and, on his return, to have had an offer of the throne from his brother, who 'kend hym his eldere,' but this proposal he magnanimously declined, and 'forsuke thare kyng to be.' How such a story gained any vogue it is not easy to understand, save perhaps on the hypothesis of a courtier-like flattery of the Bruces and Stewarts, exalting them as, after all, the representatives of the true elder line. It was, of course, a quite baseless fable. There is no hint of it in the pleadings before Edward I. in 1291, and if additional disproof were needed, it might be found in the words of Earl David himself, who, in the course of an English lawsuit in 1199, formally pleaded that he was not the heir of his grandfather, David I.\*

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\* Bain's *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, Vol. I., p. 43.  
xxxI.

The story, however, is noteworthy on another account, as containing the first mention of Earl David as a crusader. The crusading myth will be subsequently discussed, but here it may be observed that not 1190 but 1165 is the year assigned, in the earliest form of the legend, to the hero's supposed exploits against the Paynim. There was, of course, no crusade in 1165, or at any date near it, yet it is not absolutely impossible that the young Scottish noble, who cannot have been more than twenty years of age at the time, may have begun his career by joining some detachment of Templars or militant pilgrims on their way to reinforce the Christian army in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The probabilities, however, are all the other way. A warrior of such distinguished birth would hardly have returned without knighthood from a campaign in Palestine or on the debateable frontiers of Castile, but we know that Earl David was knighted five years afterwards by the English king. Of contemporary evidence there is not a jot, and when we remember that the statement, found some two centuries after the period to which it refers, is one detail in a palpably false and absurd story, the pleasing vision of Earl David 'travailing in Sarzines' must be dismissed as quite too suspicious for acceptance.

The earliest authentic contemporary mention of David is to be found in the charter, dated between 1160 and 1162, by which Malcolm IV. granted the lands of Monkland to the Abbey of Newbottle. He there appears as a witness along with Ada, his mother, and his brother William, so we may conclude that in 1162 he was at least fourteen years of age, and probably somewhat older. Not until eight years afterwards, however, does he appear on the pages of formal history, and, considering his subsequent career, it is not inappropriate that that appearance should be made at the English court. At Eastertide, in 1170, he was at Windsor along with his brother William; there, on the 31st of May, he was knighted by Henry II., and a fortnight later the two brothers did homage to the young Henry, eldest son of the English king, when, in spite of the protest of Archbishop Thomas, that prince was

crowned for the first time by Roger, Archbishop of York.\* The homage, of course, was done for the honour of Huntingdon, and from the fact that it was performed both by William and David, one infers that the former, as on a subsequent occasion, immediately transferred the earldom to his brother. At any rate, David is mentioned as earl by William of Newburgh in his contemporary account of the great rebellion of 1173-74, wherein King William took a part so disastrous to the realm of Scotland. The restless ambition of the younger Henry, joined to the discontent of the English nobles and the popular horror excited by the slaughter of Archbishop Thomas, had issued in those years in the most perilous crisis of the Angevin monarch's stormy reign. When the rebellious son fled for refuge and succour to the King of France, one of his first measures was to purchase Scottish help for his designs. Since the beginning of his reign William had been urgent in demands for restitution of the territory of Northumberland, to which his family laid claim through the marriage of King David, but which had been weakly surrendered by Malcolm IV. in 1157. This territory the younger Henry now offered to restore, and he also promised to David the safe enjoyment of the earldoms of Huntingdon and Cambridge.† The bribe was irresistible, and the two brothers lent their aid to the insurrection in which the Bishop of Durham, the Earls of Leicester, Chester, and Norfolk, Earl Ferrers, Roger Mowbray, and a host of minor feudal potentates, arrayed themselves against the elder English king.

The chief seat of the insurrection in England was in the eastern and midland counties round about Huntingdon, and the castle of that place, which naturally was one of the rebels' chief fortresses, was held by David at the beginning of the war.‡ During the summer and autumn of 1173 the main incidents of the campaign were the burning of the town of Leicester by the king's forces and the defeat and capture of the earl of that place, when, with an army of Flemish mercenaries, he landed on the Suffolk coast. Leicester Castle,

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\* *Chronicle of Melrose*, p. 87; *Gesta Henrici Secundi*, I., 46.

† *Gesta Henrici*, I., 45.

‡ *Gesta Henrici*, I., 48.



however, still remained to the insurgents, and thither in the spring of 1174 Earl David was despatched with succours by his brother William, who himself was just starting on his unlucky expedition into Northumberland.\* It is here that we have from the chronicler Jordan Fantosme a very lively account of David's proceedings, describing with enthusiasm the pious care with which the young Scottish noble protected the possessions and ministers of the Church. In that age the ferocity of the Scottish armies, composed in great part as they were of the wild Picts of Galloway and the yet more savage tribes from beyond the Forth, made as a rule no distinction between cleric and lay. Even the good King David had been unable to restrain the excesses of his followers in the war that ended with the battle of the Standard, and the worst cruelties and acts of sacrilege then perpetrated seem to have been equalled by King William's soldiers in Tynedale and Cumberland in 1174. The very different conduct of Earl David's little army was probably due to the preponderance in it of a Norman element rather than to any larger inheritance on his own part of the pious traditions of his house. Anyhow it was sufficient to strike an English observer with admiration. 'David of Scotland,' says Jordan, 'whatever may be said of him, was a most gentle warrior, for never by him was robbed holy church or abbey, and none under his orders would have injured a priest. . . . David was very wise, and was also amiable, and protected holy Church, for never did he wish to wrong a priest or canon who knew grammar, nor nun of abbey would he displease on any account.' From the same authority we learn that 'it was in May, after April, when the grass has grown green, that David came from Scotland with proud company.' For about two months he was engaged in brisk fighting in the counties which skirt the fen land on the south and west. His own castle of Huntingdon was besieged by the royal forces under the Justiciar and the Earl Simon of Northampton, who had pretensions to David's fief,† but the Scottish earl did not confine himself to a defensive attitude. With

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\* *Ibid.*, I., 64.† *Gesta Henrici*, I., 70.

his headquarters apparently at Leicester, he made raids upon the surrounding country, and one of his exploits against the burghers of Northampton is mentioned by Jordan, who says he greatly distinguished himself in the expedition and carried off much booty. But the fortune of war was irretrievably against the insurgents, and in the middle of July came the astounding news that King William had been captured at Alnwick by the loyal barons of Yorkshire. Of David's proceedings after this we have two contradictory accounts. William of Newburgh and the chronicler of Melrose say that he at once hastened to Scotland, but Jordan Fantosme asserts that he surrendered the castle of Leicester and gave himself up to King Henry, who carried him off to Normandy as a captive. Whichever be the true version, there is no doubt about the immediate surrender of the castle of Huntingdon, or about David's subsequent concurrence in the Treaty of Falaise, wherein his name appears at once as that of a party and a hostage.\*

By his unwise interference in English affairs, King William had lost the independence of Scotland. He had also—what is more to the purpose of this article—forfeited the feudal possessions of his house in England, so that for ten years the earldom of Huntingdon remained in English hands. As a consequence, his brother David seems during that time to have had his career limited to Scotland, where indeed he possessed estates and honours ample enough. The chief of these were the earldoms of the Lennox and of Garioch, the barony of Longforgan, and the towns of Bervie and Dundee.† The Lennox, according to Jordan Fantosme, was conferred upon him just before he set out for Leicester in 1174. Evidence of his possession of it is found in his gift of the churches of Campsie and Altermunin to Kelso Abbey‡ (the burial place of his father), and also in a document of the year 1233 in the Chartulary of Paisley (p. 167), where it is stated that while he was Earl of Lennox the church of Kilpatrick refused him the

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\* *Radulf de Deceto*, I., 384. *Gesta Henrici*, I., 96.

† *Fordun* (Skene), I., 281.

‡ *Liber de Calchou*, p. 186.

wonted feudal aids. Mr. E. W. Robertson has supposed that this fief was granted to him only in wardship during the minority of one of the so-called Celtic Earls of Lennox, and Dr. Skene conjectured that he resigned it on regaining the honour of Huntingdon in 1184. It is certain, at least, that it had passed out of his hands before 1193, when it is found in the possession of Earl Alwin,\* with whose male descendants it remained till the end of the fourteenth century. If we may believe Fordun, the earldom of Garrioch—a district in Aberdeenshire lying between Mar and Buchan—was bestowed on David immediately after the Treaty of Falaise: at any rate there are proofs enough that that territory was owned both by him and his son John.† Most of the churches afterwards granted to the Abbey of Lindores—Inverury, Kennethmont, Culsamond, and Premnay, for example—were situated in that northern region. Much the most valuable of David's Scottish estates, however, must have been the town of Dundee and the neighbouring barony of Longforgan, lying in the fertile Carse of Gowrie. In the twelfth century Dundee was already a thriving seaport, whose merchants traded in the English markets, as may be seen from an immunity from tolls and customs conceded to them, as the burgesses of Earl David, in 1199 by King John.‡ According to the charter afterwards granted by Robert I.§ the town had been a royal burgh before the superiority of it was bestowed upon the earl, and the grant in his favour, if one may judge from a charter in the Register of St. Andrews (p. 224), cannot well have been of earlier date than 1175. If Dundee was not the favourite residence of David in Scotland, he at least had a town house there, the remains of which in the Nethergate were in existence so late as 1496, when the 'gable of Erle David Huntletoun's haw' is mentioned as one of the boundaries of an adjoining tenement. || Traditions of him were long rife in the burgh, and he is even

\* *Liber de Melros*, I., 22. *Chartulary of Glasgow*, I., 86.

† *Liber de Lundors*, p. 38; *Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, pp. 55, 56; *Registrum Prior. St. Andreae*, p. 239; *Registrum Ep. Aberdon.*, p. 12.

‡ *Bain's Calendar*, I., p. 43.

§ *Hay's Charters of Dundee*.

|| *Lamb's Dundee*, \*5.

said to have founded the parish church, which was dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, but although the church is included in his grant to the Abbey of Lindores, the story of its foundation is vitiated by the fact that it forms a part of Boece's crusading myth.

Of Earl David's doings in the ten years between 1174 and 1184 we have only the scantiest knowledge, and it is noteworthy that the few contemporary references all show him as in close attendance upon King William both in war and peace. In 1177 the two brothers are found as witnesses to an agreement between the monks of Dryburgh and Jedburgh, and on Mid-Lent Sunday in 1180 they sat at Haddington as arbiters of a dispute between the Abbey of Melrose and Richard de Moreville concerning certain rights of pasture and forest. More important is the meagre record of a military expedition into Ross-shire conducted by them in 1179, when they fortified two castles—one on the Cromarty and the other on the Beaully Firth—in order to restrain the turbulent tribes of that remote district. Finally in 1181 they paid a visit to King Henry II. in Normandy, on some business which probably related to the provisions of the Treaty of Falaise. \*

Hitherto Earl David had been essentially a Scottish baron, lending his aid to the rough work of the government of Scotland, but in 1184 there occurred an event which, though it did not by any means expatriate him, made him for the rest of his life pre-eminently a vassal and subject of the English kings. In that year there died without issue the English noble on whom the earldom of Huntingdon had been conferred after King William had forfeited it by his confederacy with the revolted barons, and the fief and its accompanying dignity, which were thereupon restored to the Scottish monarch, were immediately transferred by him to his younger brother.† For the preceding hundred years this earldom had had a very changeful history, even for that age of sudden and frequent vicissitudes in the fortunes of the great. Possessed at first, along with Northumberland and Northampton, by that Earl

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\* *Liber de Dryburgh*, p. 48; *Chronicle of Melrose*, pp. 90-1.

† *Roger of Howden*, II., 285.

Waltheof—the last earl of purely English race—who had been beheaded by the conqueror in 1075, it passed at his death to the Norman Simon de Senlis, as the husband of Maud, his eldest daughter. When Simon died, his widow became the wife of David Prince of Cumbria, and in spite of the fact that a son and heir of the last holder was in existence, the future monarch of Scotland obtained the earldom by favour of his brother-in-law King Henry I. Thenceforward the line of succession zigzagged between the royal house of Scotland and the family of Senlis, passing to the one and the other alternately as the relations of the two kingdoms determined, and it has even been supposed by some historians that the earldom never was held as an hereditary possession, but merely by a special grant made to the individual holder for his life. Earl Henry the son of King David, Malcolm IV., William the Lion, and his younger brother, had all at one time or another enjoyed the honour of Huntingdon, while on the other hand the son and grandson of the first Earl Simon had succeeded to it after considerable intervals. The last of these, who, through a less interrupted succession, had inherited the earldom of Northampton, we have already seen besieging the castle of Huntingdon in 1174. His loyalty on that occasion was rewarded with a grant of the honour,\* and it was his death in 1184 that made way for Earl David. That there was little love lost between the Scottish royal family and the house of Senlis may be inferred from the fact that David's first proceeding on regaining the earldom was to turn out, without legal ceremony, all the subordinate vassals whom his predecessor had introduced.† It was natural, of course; that the new earl should wish to be surrounded by a body of loyal retainers, and it was equally natural that he should make his headquarters, as he evidently did thenceforward, in his English lands. The Scottish feudal heritage in England could best be secured by the residence of its possessor, who doubtless would be nothing loath to leave the hills of the Lennox and the uplands of Garioch for the rich flats of that fen-bordering country. Besides,

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\* *Gesta Henrici*, I., 70.

† *Michel's Chroniques Anglo-Normands*, II., 130.



we have to remember that as yet the two kingdoms were not severed by the desperate hostility which was generated by the aggressions of Edward I. and the struggle for independence. The Norman nobles, in consequence of the policy of David I., were equally at home in both realms, owing fealty, like the Bruces and Baliols, for estates at once in Durham and Annandale, in Yorkshire and in Galloway, and, as another result of that policy, the King of Scotland was almost as much a Norman baron as the master and governor of a realm. That that realm was itself at the time perforce acknowledged as a dependent fief of England could hardly strengthen the feudal comity of the two nations.

The English possessions of Earl David were not limited by the boundaries of the county of Huntingdon. He had lands in at least eight other shires—Leicester, Cambridge, Northampton, Rutland, Bedford, Buckingham, Essex and Middlesex. His favourite place of residence seems to have been in Northamptonshire—at the mansion of Jerdelay (or Yardley) with its park, or at the castle of Fotheringay, where, by a strange turn of fortune, his descendant, Queen Mary, four centuries later, was to lay her head upon the block.\* From a letter of King John in the year 1215, ordering him to have the third penny of the County of Cambridge, it has even been inferred that he enjoyed that earldom as well. The English records contain a multitude of entries shewing him engaged in those litigations—now with neighbouring proprietors concerning boundaries and again with religious houses about advowsons—which in that age, as in subsequent and more civilised times, were among the incidents in a great landowner's life. They also reveal to us his borrowing from the Jews, who in Angevin England had developed a huge system of money lending, necessitated mainly by the demand for capital for the erection of castles and monasteries, and the substitution of wood for stone in architecture. To the famous Aaron of Lincoln, the wealthy Jew who boasted that he had built the shrine of St. Alban, David owed £300, a sum which is equivalent to at

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\* *Bain's Calendar*, I., pp. 31-93 *passim*, furnishes the materials for our knowledge of David's life on his English estates.

least £7000 in money of to-day. In accordance with the curious system of Angevin finance, the debts due to Aaron were seized by the Exchequer at the Jew's death in 1187, so that Earl David became the debtor of the Crown. Again and again this sum of £300 is mentioned in the records as still unpaid: in fact it never was paid, for at last in 1212 the debt was forgiven. Another Jewish debt, secured on the dower house of his countess, was settled in the same comfortable manner by a royal letter in 1199, and in 1202 King John ordered his ministers to 'give our dear Earl David all his charters and cyrographs of the debts of the Jews, whoever may have them, because we have acquitted him of them up to Christmas.\* Yet in spite of this the borrowing must have gone on, since it appears that in 1238, a score of years after his death, the memory of Earl David was still burdened with £28 of Jews' debts. We may imagine, if we like, that these transactions were due to an enthusiasm for 'improvements' in the County of Huntingdon and religious foundations in Scotland; yet it is rather amusing, though quite in keeping with the ways of the twelfth century, to find the crusading hero of romance, and pious prince of sober history, thus making himself art and part in the mortal sin of usury, and giving 'shetars' to an 'Ebrew Jew.'

During the closing years of Henry II. we get several glimpses† of the new Earl of Huntingdon in England. At Christmas in 1184, for example, he was at Windsor; next year he and King William were invited to attend the council at Clerkenwell called to provide for the defence of Jerusalem against the menacing assaults of Saladin, and in 1186 he was present at Woodstock, at the marriage of his brother with Ermengarde de Beaumont. More important historically as illustrating the relations of the two countries is the subordinate part played by him and William in an English campaign against the turbulent Roland of Galloway, whose future obedience they were made to guarantee. At the coronation of

\* *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, I., 22., b., quoted in Jacob's *Jews in Angevin England*, p. 205.

† *Gesta Henrici*, I., 333, 336, 347-51; II., 98. *Roger of Howden*, III., 9.

Richard I. David shines as a gorgeous figure, walking in the procession abreast of John, the King's brother, and the Earl of Leicester, with a golden sword from the royal treasury in his hand. A few months after this pageant came the formal renunciation of the Treaty of Falaise, by which the Earldom of Huntingdon was confirmed to the Scottish royal family on the same terms as those on which it had been held by Malcolm IV.

The third Crusade was now in preparation, and before the end of 1189 Richard had crossed to the Continent, there to muster the expedition for the Holy Land. According to Boece's version of the Crusading myth the Earl of Huntingdon was one of the captains of the host. We have already seen that in its earlier form that legend represented David as fighting against the infidel in 1165, but it is a proof of Boece's eye for the picturesque that in his book the story is boldly transferred to the far more brilliant scene where the Scottish earl could play his part against Saladin, alongside of Richard Cour-de-Lion and Philip Augustus, under the gaze of the assembled chivalry of Christendom. According to the narrative in Book XIII. of the Chronicle, David, with five hundred soldiers, sailed in the armament of Richard from the port of Marseilles. It was he who captured the city of Acre, and, as if that were not enough for the honour of Scotland, Boece has been careful to make the traitor who opened the gates to him a Scotsman too. To this the translator Bellenden adds another patriotic touch by telling us that King Richard, on the morrow, saw 'the Scottis standart on the wallis,'—a spectacle which, we may be sure, would not have been witnessed with perfect equanimity by the monarch who pulled down the Duke of Austria's flag. So much for the Iliad of the Crusade, but in its Odyssey the fabulist has been, if possible, yet more liberal of his invention. On the return home, David's ship was driven by a tempest on the coast of Egypt, where he himself was seized by the Saracens, and borne to Alexandria as a captive. Liberated after a long time by some Venetian merchants, he was carried by them to Constantinople and Venice, where at last some Englishmen recognised him, and gave him

the means of returning home. His adventures, however, were not yet ended, for after he had purchased a ship at Sluys, and set sail for Scotland, a terrific storm drove him north towards Norway and Shetland. Only by promising to build a church to the Virgin was he saved from drowning, and when at length his storm-tossed vessel came safe to shore in the Firth of Tay, his vow was paid by the foundation of the parish church of Dundee and the Abbey of Lindores.

Such is the detailed story which, as it is found in no other author, one is tempted to attribute to the unscrupulous ingenuity and misdirected patriotism of Boece. In his pious task of magnifying the ancient glories of Scotland the chronicler was, of course, bound to assume that in the great chivalric and Christian epic of the Crusades she took a part not unworthy of the land which had had Fergus and Galdus for monarchs, and had kept the Catholic faith 'evir sicker, but ony roust of heresy,' since the days of the Emperor Severus and Pope Victor I. As Scotland, however, seems to have actually had little or no share in the Crusades before 1200, Boece was naturally thrown back on his imagination, and it must be owned that in making 'Alane Stewart,' the grandson of Fleance, enter Jerusalem along with Godfrey of Bouillon, and Earl David of Huntingdon take the town of Acre under the generalship of Richard of the Lion Heart, he used his resources not amiss. For the story of David's Odyssean adventures there were hints enough in the authentic history of the Crusades—in the Egyptian captivity of St. Louis, for example, and the romantic wanderings and Austrian imprisonment of Richard himself. It is probable also that something was borrowed from the curious French romance entitled *Le Livre des Trois Fils de Rois*. This book, said to be the work of a certain Charles Aubert, whose *Histoire d'Olivier de Castile* was printed in 1482, was very popular in the time of Boece, no less than eight editions of it having been issued during the sixteenth century from the presses of Paris and Lyons. John Major\* tells us that a similar romance—no doubt a translation—

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\* Book V., ch. 5.

existed in the Scottish vernacular, and that the Prince David of Scotland, who was one of its three heroes, was identified with the brother of William the Lion. The Scottish version is no longer extant, but an examination of the French original confirms Lord Hailes's dictum that the book is altogether fabulous. The David who figures in it, along with the heirs to the thrones of France and England, is the eldest of the Scottish king's three sons. Made leader of an expedition fitted out by the three nations to help the King of Sicily against the Infidel, he is shipwrecked, and falls into the hands of the Turks, who, on account of his bravery, exempt him from the general slaughter of their prisoners. In his captivity he takes the name of Athis—the English prince, also a prisoner, assuming the *alias* of Hector—and after his liberation he returns in safety to Scotland, to be welcomed by his aged father, and in course of time to succeed him on the throne. The foremost part assigned to Scotland in this romance would almost make one suspect the hand of some Frenchified Scottish exile in its composition; but, at any rate, it is abundantly evident that no dry historical light is to be expected from such a quarter. To have done with this crusading story, it need only be added that the utter lack of all contemporary mention of David as a crusader, and the dates of one or two well authenticated events in his life, are practically equivalent to its disproof. The presence in Richard's army of so distinguished a person as the brother of the Scottish king would certainly not have been forgotten by the chroniclers of the day, who give most ample lists of the crusading nobles, and yet in none of these is David's name to be found. What we do learn from contemporary historians, however, is that while Richard sailed from Marseilles on the 7th of August, 1190, David, on the 26th of that month, was married to Matilda, the daughter of Hugh, Earl of Chester, and that he was in England besieging the castle of Nottingham when the king returned in 1194\*. This latter fact sufficiently disposes of the story of his long wanderings and

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\* *Chronicle of Melrose*, p. 99; *Gesta Henrici*, II., 146; *Roger of Howden*, III., 74, 237.



adventures, while the former shews that he remained in England after the expedition had set out.

Connected with Boece's legend is the popular story of the origin of Lindores Abbey, the most important of David's gifts to the Church, which is said to have been endowed and erected by him in gratitude for his safe return. As might be expected, however, the foundation charter \* is altogether silent about the crusades, the narrative clause, as lawyers term it, recounting only the founder's pious wish to benefit the souls of his ancestors, his wife, and his son. This charter is evidently dated about the year 1202, but the abbey must have been founded and endowed some years earlier, since the bull of its confirmation was issued by Pope Innocent III. on the 20th of March, 1198.† Such an apparent anomaly is, of course, nothing wonderful in the monastic history of Scotland, for, to give only two examples, the extant charters of Holyrood and Melrose were clearly given some years later than the actual foundations to which they refer. The Abbey of Lindores, which belonged to the Tironensian variety of the Benedictine order, represented in Scotland mainly by the monks of Kelso, was endowed by its founder with right princely munificence. The church of Dundee, and eight or nine churches and chapels in the Garioch, are conveyed by the foundation charter, in addition to the parish church of Lindores, whose ruins, now known as the old kirk of Abdie, still stand on the northern shore of Lindores loch, about a mile and a half from the abbey walls. Another grant endowed the monastery with the island of Redinche or Mugdrum, and the rich fishings in the Tay, while from the papal bull we learn that two churches in the bishopric of Lincoln—also, doubtless, the gift of the Earl of Huntingdon—had become the property of the monks. By this magnificent foundation David amply proved himself an undegenerate member of that family of whom the cool and critical Major wrote that there was 'something marvellous' in their eagerness to build monasteries, 'and ever with the result of damage to the royal revenues.' Lindores, however, was only

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\* *Liber de Lundors*, p. 37.

† *Ibid.*, p. 39.

the most splendid of his pious donations, for the chartularies of Kelso and Arbroath, of the Bishopric of Glasgow and the Priory of St. Andrews, give plenty of additional evidence that he was a worthy grandson of the 'sair sanct.' The monasteries of England had also, of course, a share of his bounty, the abbey of Sautre receiving a bequest of eight virgates of land by his will; and we find the canons of the Church of the Holy Trinity in London requiting the gift of an annual rent-charge by admitting the Earl, along with his wife and son and daughter, into their fraternity, with participation in all benefits in their church for the living and the dead.

The frequent appearance of his name as a witness to documents preserved in our monastic chartularies, shews that David must have been several times in Scotland during the reigns of Richard I. and John. From the English chronicles and State papers we learn that in 1200 he went thither as one of a deputation bearing an invitation and safe conduct for King William to come to York and there do homage to John, while again, in 1205, he was sent northward as a hostage on a somewhat similar errand.\* It was doubtless on the latter occasion that he swore allegiance to his young nephew, who was afterwards to succeed to the Scottish crown as Alexander II.† Some ten years earlier there had been a transaction at Clackmannan which, if nothing had occurred to frustrate it, would doubtless have resulted in the Earl of Huntingdon appearing as a claimant of the Scottish throne. William, while sick, as he thought, unto death, had named as his heir and successor in the kingdom—on condition of a marriage with his eldest daughter—that Otho, son of Henry the Lion of Bavaria, who afterwards was emperor for a few years under the title of Otho IV. The nomination, however, had been met with a protest by Patrick, Earl of Dunbar and others of the nobles, who declared that so long as there was a nephew or brother, such a bequest was against the custom of the realm.‡ Obviously this protest was made in the interest of Earl David, who, we

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\* *Roger of Howden*, IV., 140-2; *Bain's Calendar*, I., 62.

† *Chronicle of Melrose*, p. 105.

‡ *Roger of Howden*, III., 298.

may be sure, would have forcibly asserted his claim had the need arisen. The recovery of William, however, and the birth of the young Alexander in 1198, destroyed all chance of such a rupture, for Earl David, as far as can be known, acknowledged loyally his nephew's right. On the death of King William in 1214, he was present, if we may believe Fordun (Vol. I., p. 281), at Alexander's coronation at Scone, and afterwards followed the bier of his brother, in the long funeral pomp, from Stirling to Arbroath. He is described on that occasion as already feeble both in mind and body, and fittingly enough it is at the obsequies of William that we have the last glimpse of him on Scottish soil.

Of David's doings in England during the reign of Richard I. we hear little, but from a passage in Roger of Howden it appears that he remained faithful to that monarch during his absence, or at least that on his return he rallied to his side against the revolted John. In February 1194 he is found, along with the Earls of Chester and Ferrers, laying siege on the king's behalf to the rebels' castle of Nottingham, and in the end of March he attended the great council convened at that place for the settlement of the realm.\* Self-interest and gratitude would naturally make him loyal to the king who had revoked the Treaty of Falaise, and, besides, he may well have thought that he had had enough of rebellions against an English sovereign. At the same time his attachment to Richard was certain to bring him in disfavour with John, and it is not wonderful that on the accession of the latter David was one of the barons who were viewed with most suspicion. John, however, made it his business to win over the malcontents with fair promises, so that before the end of 1199 the Earl of Huntingdon along with many other nobles, had sworn allegiance to him at Northampton.† From the exemption granted to the burgesses of Dundee in the first year of John's reign as well as from the subsequent forgiveness of the Jews' debts, David seems really to have gained the favour of the new king, and for the next ten years there is no evidence to

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\* *Roger of Howden*, III., 237, 241.

† *Roger of Howden*, IV., 88.

show that he lost it. His position, indeed, could not have been without its difficulties, seeing that more than once during these years there was menace of hostilities between his brother and the English monarch. In 1209 the two kings were actually facing each other in warlike array on the Border, but neither in the account of their meeting, nor in the record of the treaty by which their differences were composed, is there any mention of Earl David. Next year, however, the earl along with his natural son Henry and a contingent of vassal knights followed the banner of the excommunicated John to Ireland in his campaign against the rebellion headed by William de Braose.\* England at that time was lying under the interdict pronounced by Innocent III., and the troubles of the realm and its unworthy monarch, in which Earl David was soon to be involved, were increasing and multiplying fast. The Papal threat of deposition roused the fears of the king and the disloyalty of the nobles, and it seems to have been as part of his panic policy of precaution that John in the August of 1212 required the delivery of David's son and heir as a hostage, and also the surrender of the Castle of Fotheringay, enforcing the latter demand with an order for the mustering of the *posse comitatus* to reduce the fortress if resistance were made.† What answer was given to these demands we know not, nor is there any mention of Earl David for the next two years and a half, but since, in 1215, the earl's son and his castle were restored to him, we may infer that they had been yielded up.‡ It is noteworthy that the order for their restoration is dated just six days after the granting of the Great Charter, but unfortunately there is no scrap of evidence to justify us in concluding that the ancestor of the Scottish kings was instrumental in securing the liberties of England. The king's efforts to break the Charter brought about an almost immediate renewal of the baronial war, and the cause of the insurgents was espoused by the young Scottish King Alexander II., whose chief motive, like that of his father forty years before, seems to have been the desire to

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\* Bain's *Calendar*, I., p. 81.

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† *Ibid.*, I., 93.

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‡ *Ibid.*, I., 110.

possess himself of the long coveted county of Northumberland. This interference naturally brought David into trouble, and it is interesting to note that the closing days of the aged earl (who cannot now have been much less than seventy years of age), were vexed by the same ambitious projects which had provided the most stormy adventures and exploits of his youth. He could now, however, be only a passive sufferer, instead of, as formerly, a foremost actor in the drama of royal and baronial strife. In the beginning of 1216 some of his possessions were given to Gerard de Sotingeham, and on the 14th of March in the following year, as Alexander still maintained the cause of Louis of France and the barons against the new King Henry III., all his lands were granted to William Marshal, son of the Earl of Pembroke.\* The confiscation, however, lasted only till the conclusion of peace, for after Alexander had disbanded his forces and done homage at Northampton for the Scottish possessions in England, Earl David, on the 13th of March, 1218, got back the lands and chattels of which he had been 'disseised on account of the war.'† He was thus enabled to spend the last year of his life in his English home, and there, in the mansion house of Yardley (for in this particular we may accept some of the details given by Fordun), he died, after a long illness, on the 17th of June, 1219.‡ Fordun, however, is in error in saying that he desired to have his grave at Lindores, for by his will his body was bequeathed to the neighbouring Abbey of Sautre, where accordingly it was buried.§ It was a stormy England that he left behind him—almost as lawless as his own turbulent fatherland at its worst—for within ten days after his death his cattle and his house of Yardley had been seized by the servants of William Marshal, who also ejected the widowed countess from the manors of Baddon and Tottenham, which were her dower. The intruders, however, were disowned by their master, and in the month of October the honour of Huntingdon was duly granted to Alexander II., to be held *in capite*,

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\* Bain's *Calendar*, I., 113, 118.

† *Ibid.*, I., 122.

‡ Fordun, I. 282; *Chronicon de Lanercost*, 27; Bain's *Calendar*, I., 127.

§ Bain's *Calendar*, I., 182.



saving the right of David's son and heir John.\* Inheriting also the honours of his mother's house, this John is best known in history as Earl of Chester: he took the cross in 1236, and died in the following year childless, poisoned, according to Matthew Paris, by his wife the daughter of Llewellyn of Wales. At his death the title of Earl of Huntingdon was allowed to become extinct. Alexander III. in vain endeavoured to procure its restoration, and although it was revived a hundred years afterwards, its subsequent history has no connection with Scotland. The lands, however, or part of them, remained with Earl David's descendants in the female line until the war of independence, being held directly of the Scottish kings and mediately of the crown of England, for his granddaughter Devorguilla, the mother of John Baliol, is known to have possessed the manor of Fotheringay at her death in 1290. From the foundation charter of Lindores it appears that Earl John of Chester was not the only, or even perhaps the eldest, son of his father, since the Abbey is declared to be founded, among other reasons, *pro salute animæ David filii mei*. This David, of whom no more is known, is possibly to be identified with the child Robert, mentioned by Fordun, as cut off *immatura morte* and buried at Lindores. Earl David had also two sons, evidently illegitimate, named Henry of Stirling and Henry of Brechin, the latter of whom was father of a certain William of Brechin, who is found endowing the Maison Dieu of that town in 1267. David de Brechin, who perished in 1320 for his share in the conspiracy against Robert I., is said to have been a descendant. One of these Henrys (it is uncertain which) was clearly older than Earl John of Chester, since he was married to an English heiress in 1205, and either he or his natural brother appears as a witness to their father's will.† The three lawful daughters of David are of course well enough known as the ancestresses of Balliol, Bruce, and Hastings, the competitors for the Scottish crown. The date of the marriage of Margaret, the eldest, with Alan of Galloway is fixed by the

\* Bain's *Calendar*, I., 129-30.

† *Reg. Vet. Aberbrothoc.*, p. 163. *Reg. Ep. Brechin.*, pp. 4-7. Bain's *Calendar*, pp. 61, 182.

Melrose chronicler in 1209, and it was doubtless soon afterwards that the two younger sisters, Isabella and Ada, were wedded to Robert Bruce Lord of Annandale, and Henry of Hastings, progenitor of the earlier Lords of Abergavenny and Earls of Pembroke. Mere names they all are—simple links in the chain of genealogy—and even Earl David himself, when all that is possible has been said of him, remains on the whole a vague and shadowy form. Yet some definite traits we can distinguish, from which a rough general impression may be obtained. No errant crusader of the type of Richard Cœur de Lion, but a rich and home-keeping seigneur—*tam in Anglia quam in Scotia divitiis praeptens*, says the chronicler of Lanercost—a valiant and active knight in his youth and ever a devout son of Holy Church, inheriting the pious liberality, and also, one is tempted to think, something of the wisdom and gentleness of his royal grandsire—such is the figure that half disengages itself from the mists of that obscure and distant time.

ROBERT AITKEN.

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ART. VII.—HANOVERIAN LETTERS OF 1746—  
BEFORE CULLODEN.

WHILE the published Jacobite correspondence of 1745-46 is voluminous, it is remarkable that comparatively few letters from the other political side have been brought to light. It is true that the principal historians of that period belonged to the Whig party, and possibly the necessity for destroying compromising correspondence has made the number of publishable letters scarce, thus leading to the issue of many fragments of correspondence which are of limited intrinsic value. On the other hand, the Whig letters have been so largely anticipated by official histories that it has been often deemed unnecessary to publish them. But it is always important to have documentary confirmation of statements made by partizan historians; and

news-letters of a familiar character give more vivid pictures of the time than could be drawn by the most imaginative historian. The letters published here for the first time are of even more importance than general correspondence. As they were addressed to one of the foremost of the Crown lawyers they have a semi-official tone, even while they preserve the familiarity of close relationship. The source from which they were obtained makes their authenticity unimpeachable. The letters were addressed to William Grant of Prestongrange—afterwards Lord Prestongrange of the Court of Session—who was Lord-Advocate from 1746 till 1754, and the principal correspondent was George Buchan of Kelloe, who was married to Christian Grant, sister of the Lord-Advocate. Janet Grant, the eldest of the Lord-Advocate's three daughters, and the last survivor of them, was married in 1749 to John, fourth Earl of Hyndford. She died in extreme old age in 1818. Her father's letters had come into her possession as heiress of Prestongrange, and after her death they lay for many years in the office of her Edinburgh legal adviser. In 1832 the late James Thomson, author of a *History of Dundee* and other antiquarian books, was permitted to make transcripts of these letters for his own use. When Mr. Thomson died in 1864, his papers were dispersed, and ultimately the transcripts came into the hands of the present writer. The passages quoted are either of historical importance, or useful as showing the social condition of Scotland immediately before and after Culloden.

William Grant of Prestongrange, to whom these letters were addressed, was the second son of Francis Grant, Lord Cullen of Session. He passed as Advocate in 1722, and was appointed Procurator for the Church of Scotland and principal Clerk to the General Assembly in May, 1731. In 1737 he was Solicitor-General for Scotland, and on 26th February, 1746, he succeeded Robert Craigie as Lord-Advocate. The first of the letters quoted below was written immediately after Grant had received this appointment. Grant sat as Member for the Elgin Burghs from 1747 till 1754, resigning his seat when he was raised to the Bench, with the title of Lord Prestongrange, on 14th November, 1754, on the death of Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies.

In the same year he was made a Commissioner on Forfeited Estates. He died at Bath on 23rd May, 1764, and was buried at Prestonpans. By his marriage with Grizel, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Millar, he had three daughters. Janet, the eldest, was married to the Earl of Hyndford as stated, and survived till 1818. Agnes, the second daughter, married Sir George Suttie, Bart., and her great-grandson is the present Sir George Grant Suttie, Bart., of Balgone and Prestongrange. Jane, the youngest daughter—referred to in the first letter as ‘Jansie’—became the second wife of the Hon. Robert Dundas of Arniston, Lord President of the Court of Session, and was great-grandmother of the present Robert Dundas, Esq., of Arniston. George Buchan of Kelloe, the correspondent of William Grant of Prestongrange, was married to Christian Grant, second daughter of Lord Cullen, and sister of William Grant. He was a prominent Whig politician in Edinburgh. His son, George Buchan, was married to Anne, daughter of Lord President Dundas by his first marriage. These notes are sufficient to make intelligible the relationship of the personages named in the letters. It is worthy of notice that in his first letter Mr. Buchan refers to a son of William Grant, ‘Billie,’ whose name does not appear in the published genealogies of the family. He probably died in childhood. The letters show how completely the system of espionage prevailed, and how money for secret service was obtained.

*From Mr. Buchan of Kelloe to the Right Hon. Wm. Grant of Prestongrange, Esqr., Lord Advocate.*

‘Edr., 8 March, 1746.

‘MY LORD—I wrott you the 6th, and your having writt Nobody here Last post, gains credit to the Article of the *Edr. Courant* yesterday, saying that the Ld. Advocat was on the Road. However, I adventure to give you this Lest Mr. Kincaid \* be Misinformed. Yesternight your Commission was got from the Seals, and when delivered in Pat Grant’s house Mr.

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\* Alexander Kincaid, King’s Printer, and proprietor of the *Edinburgh Courant*; one of the most notable publishers of the time. He was Lord Provost of Edinburgh when he died in 1777.

Arch. Campbell told Me he was under his Grace\* the Keeper's Commands not to take his fees, and it was his own Resolution to take no fees for himself, or for any other of the Office. Its a favor, and the Manner of doing it Raises the Value, qch I must leave to Your own Acknowledgment. Mrs. Grant, her Aunt, and Miss Jansie, came here, and Left Your Other familie weel. Billie had Last night a Brash of pain, qch they Suspected to be a Chough and sent for Mr. Hepburn. He got Rest, and this Morning was Very weel, and his fourth tooth appearing.

'The Justice Clerk† Spoke to Me of Lists qch he has much fuller than those Sent Me (of qch I took not any Nottice of him), and gave Me a note of some Inquiries he wanted Me to make as to Descriptions, &c. I will give any Assistance in my Power. How soon the Communication opened wt Aberdeen, I fixed a Correspondente for that purpose, whose first Letter I sent You Last post. I doubt not the Justice Clerk may have Likeways given Orders there also, Seeing he has Messrs. Halden, Home, Armor, &c., att Perth, and may be, to move forward on [the] same Errand. I go on to hint [to] You what Occurs to Me Very freely. Your office will now have more adoe than any of Your predecessors, and ane Expensive Intelligence beside; Various Incidents will be Necessar, in qch the Justice Clerk has been Vigilant and Generous, wtout both qch there can be Little Success, and we have of late seen Fatall Consequences of failure in Another. No doubt youle Setle your fund—I know not if it will be proper to be done from the fund in the hands of the Agent, Or if youle have it on the Military Chest, as it has Connection with the warr. I mentioned the Agent in a former Letter, and am Confirmed in Opinion that its Necessar he be one of whose principles You are sure. Trust, in perilous times, ought not to be made for Compliment.

'As youle have Multitudes of Letters to Receive and write, may not ane Order be from the postmaster Generall to allow you to frank? The Justice Clerk was att Last forced to Seek that for himself from Sir Everard.

'I Refer You to what I have writt prompt, as to Sir Arch. The Last acc[oun]ts I have heard are that the D[uke of Cumber-

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\* Archibald, third Duke of Argyll, better known by his title of Earl of Ilay. He was born in 1682; made Lord High Treasurer in 1705; was one of the Commissioners for the Union; an Extraordinary Lord of Session 1708; and Lord Justice General 1710. He succeeded his brother, the great Duke of Argyll in 1743, and died in 1761.

† Andrew Fletcher of Milton, born 1692; Advocate 1717; Lord of Session (Lord Milton) 1724; Lord Justice Clerk 1735-48; died 1766.



land] was to Move from Ab[er]d[ee]n as Yesterday. Nowe we have a Storme these Two days wt a N.E. wind. Last Munday Bligh's Regt. of foot were Shipt at Leith, wt a great many Recovered Men of Other Regiments. They Sailed on Tuesday for Aberdeen, but were put back here Yesterday, and are now wind bound. Its the greater pity as its feard the Numbers of the Enemy are Increased to double what they were in Falkirk. Lovat has been and is most pernicious; and they say Some of the McKenzies has gone from Loudoun. The President is at Sutherland's house. The Hazard Sloop, and other three Ships from Dunkirk, were seen off Montrose. I wish our fleet may see them. Its possible before this Reaches You there may be ane Action—pray God preserve the Duke and grant him Success. I hope more troops are moving down. The Hessians go Slowly to Perth. The Rebels' Friends are Very Elevated, Seem not to doubt Victory, and say they are not to Defend the Banks of Spey, and will meet our Army Nearer. Some of them say that thevle wheel about Southward, Leaving the Coast to the Duke. This is not credited, wee have Experience of their Expedition, and have Reason to fear there is Generalship among them.

'You have access to, and dayly See the Ministrie, where things can be said Easier than afterwards written. please Sie what I write frankt about the Annuitants.

'I Remain, My Lord, Yours.'

The second letter is largely taken up with a proposal for a new sett for the city of Edinburgh, and is only of local interest. The passage relating to the equipage of the Lord Advocate is worth quoting.

*From Mr. Buchan of Kelloe to the Lord Advocate.*

'Edinb. 15 March, 1746.

'MY LORD—I wrott you the 13th. Since qch wee have no post from the South. . . . I now take the Liberty to Mention Your own Concerns. Your friend Elchies,\* some weeks agoe, told Me he hoped you would Remember severall things suitable and Necessary for your present station, as to Outward Appearance of Equipage and Servts. I told to be sure you knew the World and what was fitt for you. Last Evening he was to Visit your Sister, and began the Conversation to her, Notticed the handsome Equipment Your predecessor had att

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\* Patrick Grant of Elchies; Advocate 1712; Lord of Session (Lord Elchies) 1732; died 27th July, 1754.

Dunbar, and his Equipage for his family. I notticed that Horses now were not Easiely got, there had been such demand; Commissaires here are in want of their Store Ships from England, and are taking wheat from our Bakers att high prices.

‘Your friends are all well, and I am, My Lord, Yours.’

Mr. Buchan had made arrangements without delay to have direct intelligence from the North as to the movements of the army under Prince Charles Edward. The name of his Aberdeen correspondent is not signed to any of the letters, for an obvious reason. The contents of his letters are of value as showing the state of feeling in Aberdeen at the time, and as giving particulars of incidents not recorded in official histories.

*From Mr. Buchan's Correspondent in Aberdeen.*

‘Aberdeen, 17th March, 1746.

‘SIR—My last of yesterday was with ane express to the Lord Justice Clerk. I then mentioned a review of three Regts which was given out, & lines cutt in our links, & every body expected a fine appearance, but this was managed by his Royal Highness with great address. At 8 at Night they had orders to March at 4 this Morning. Accordingly the N.B. Fuzileers, Battereau's, Pultney's, & late Monroe's with the half of the Train, Marched before five this morning; while we hear those three Regts who marched last week, are ordered to Strabogie and Turiff. All are ordered to be at ane hour's warning, but Its Impossible to penetrate into any design or when the Duke will move till he's ready to mount. I hear the Duke has some Nottice of the Rebells having attempted a Pass maintained by Earl Loudoun. This Intelligence comes only from the Rebells themselves, & they accnolege they were obliged to retire. I hear Just now by a freind from Coll. Mordaunt of Kingston's Horse, who is here Seek, that a party of that Horse had on Saturday afternoon a Skirmish with a party of the Royal Hussars; one acct Says three of the Horsemen are killed and sixteen of the Rebells, ane other says that one only of the Horsemen is killed, and six Hussars; however, all agree that the Hussars fled very precipitarily. I also hear that the 7 Regt foot marched this day, & last week the Campbells and the Grants, now Said to be Eight hundred, (who have stollen from home in small party's, and are now to that extent), wt Kingston's horse, and 3 Troop Dragoons, wt five piece Cannon, have orders to Scoure the Country of the Rebells as far as the Spey. Last night and this Morning came in here three Kinghorn Boats wt Forage, Two Ships wt flower,

&c. Ane wt bread, & ane wt Stores for the Army. There is ane other come in, I cannot learn how load, but is for them also. Charles Coupland, Dpty Coll[ecto]r. of the Land Tax for this Town and County, has been searched for, but is absconded. Genll Bland has gone to day, & we hear Genll Hawley follows. I am Sir, Your most Humble Servant.'

*From the Same to the Same.*

'19th March, 1746.

'SIR,—I have yours of the 15th before me. As we know nothing of any numbers of the Army Seek, I am a good deall surprised to learn that from Edinr, but nothing is too gross for those wiked creatures who go on to there own destruction. I have been at Some pains to discover where the Surgeon Genll Quarters, and as it is in ane intimate freind's house, I gott acct of the returns made yesterday of all the Seek in both Towns, which do not amount to 170 Men, & he damns that nothing but drinking Spirits, with the Cold, they have hurt the [five words erased]. Its now three weeks yesterday since the Van of the Army arrived here, and I understand that they have buiried but 8 or 9 Men, which is really surprising among so many of the most healthfull Men.

'On Sunday Night the Grants, 150, Made the Advanced Guard as far as Clatt. About Midnight Roy Stuart with 500 Rebels thought to Surprise them from Strabogie, The Grants had ane outlook and retired to Castle Forbes in order; they followed them, but as they heard the Regulars were on there March from Inverary, they retired back to Strabogie without firing a shott. On Monday those at Inverey & Old Meldrum with Kingston's horse, Marched to Strabogie; about two afternoon they arrived there. The Rebels precipitately fled, and left the King's forces a good hott dinner of Roast and Boyled, with a Quantity of forrage they had laid in there. Some Grenadiers and Some of the Light Horse pursued as farr as the Bridge on Deveron at Huntly, immediatly where thay fired, and its Said John Roy Stuart, who was in the Rear, received a shott in the arm, & was seen to be held on his Horse by a Man on each Syde when they went off.

'His R. Highness has letters of the 15th from E. Lowdown, which Say that E. Sutherland has now 1100 Men in all this Raising. Sir Alexr. McDonald is with him. Lowdown has three thousand five hundred Men all resolved to stand it, waits his R. Highness orders, & says had he two Regts. Regulars, would fight the whole Rebell Army. A Gentleman here went

to Gamrie, betwixt Fraserburgh and Banff, & went over the Murray firth in ane open Boat, was with E. Lowdown on Saturday last, & came here yesterday evening. It was Brig. Mordaunt who went with the last Brigade of the Army, so that he and Gen. Bland are the only Officers gone from this Town. The whole army have orders to be at ane hour's notice. Kirkhill had some days agoe asked of our Jaylor the warrant of his Committment, he called on Capt. Grant who gave the order, the Captn. called on S. Everard Fawkenner who had ordered the Captour; Sir Everard Signed ane Information & desired the Captn. to make out a Warrant of Committ. for Trasonable Practices.

'None here have been taken up Since my last but ane Irishman, who has for Some time taught French here, named Dannie. I beg you'll make my Humble Complements to your Lady & Mr. Gardiner. Shew her I will not forget the Pork, tho' it cannot be had till the Army is gone; even all the Pork cured for London & other Mercats is sold out to them, besides what comes daily to Mercat. I am, Sir, Your most Humble Servt.'

*From Mr. Buchan to the Lord Advocate.*

'Edr., 25 March, 1746.

'MY LORD,—I wrott You Yesterday to have gone by Express, qch has not hapned. To day had Yours of the 20th. . . I have had no Letter since fryday from my Abdn Correspondent. A post from thence is Expected this night. If he comes You shall hear it. Sr Archd. wrott Me, he has been severall times at the Duke's Levie, and he was Ordered again North, but Says nothing of the Manner of his Reception, or on what footing his Service is. You Notice what My Correspondent wrott of the Clan, Yet I See nothing said of them in our News papers, and I hear there are Whispers about Town. I'll write You how soon I can tell You of them wt any Credibility.

'Capt. Forbes of Newe, who is still here, was to tell Me that he was greatly surprised to find on his Return a Younger Brother prisoner among the Rebels in Carlyle, a young Lad of 17 years age, was apprentice to a printer here When Ld. Pitsligoe\* came to the Pretender att Edr., and was Inticed by my Ld. to go in his Retinue the Ride to England. How soon the father

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\* Alexander Forbes, fourth Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, joined the Jacobite army after the battle of Prestonpans. He was attainted in 1746. After Culloden he remained in hiding near his own estate for many years. He died in 1762, aged eighty-five.

heard it, and that he was Returned to the West, Sent his Commands to him, under pain of his Curse, Immediately to Leave the Rebels and follow his Employment; on qch he did leave them, and got a horse to go to London, and taking the Western Road by Carlille, was there Seizd, and lies among the prisoners. The Capt. Says though he and his other Brother are so highly offended wt his follie and Crime, that he will not Directly Speak or write on the Subject. He had desird Sr Gordon to write You, as also addrest Mrs. Grant, only to tell you the facts. Perhaps You could poynt out how he could have access to Mercey.

‘Wee have reprinted here a pamphlet, The Important Question Discust about the Continent War, qch seems by the Same hand as ane published Last Year on that Subject, to qch I had then ane answer, Does this Late performance proseleyt Many, Or is it answered? It begins wt a Supposition of the Rebellion being finished. The Author and his Dependants could have finished it in August, 1745—I pray God all the power of Britain may do it before August, 1746. Here its feared we’le have no Summer Session, Tho’ a Quorum of Lords may find safety. Its hard to proceed when Large part of the Country are Debard.

‘We have different acctts from Blair, and of the progress of the Rebels in these parts. Its hopd Sr And. Agnew may keep out Some days. The Hessians Movd part on Sunday, and Another part this day from Perth Northward. The Transports Saild from the firth on Sunday and Yesterday would be att Abdn. Mrs. Grant proposes next Saturday to view the furniture, Garden, and Inclosures of Ancrum, where I’le probablie attend her. It will be End of next week befor Wm. Elliot Returns, when Mrs. Grant designs he should gather in money to make You another Remittance.

‘Ld. Arniston is in a bad state, his freinds are afrayd he will not attend the Summer Session If wee have ane. Ime always, My Lord, Yours.’

The above letter distinctly shows that there was more perturbation in Edinburgh, and more dubiety as to the success of the Duke of Cumberland, than is usually represented in histories of the time. The following letter, written the day after, gives hitherto unpublished details of the expedition into Sutherland, led first by Lord George Murray, and afterwards by the Duke of Perth. These particulars are sufficient to show that this episode, had it been properly conducted, might have turned the



balance in favour of the Jacobites. It seems to have been the intention of Prince Charles Edward to retreat northwards, and make his final stand against the Duke of Cumberland in Sutherlandshire. The dissensions and divided counsels among his leaders prevented the accomplishment of this project.

*From Mr. Buchan's Correspondent in Aberdeen.*

*'Aberdeen, 26th March, 1746.*

'SIR,—Since my last of 24th Curr. the express I sent Grant gott. Mr. Lauchlan Grant at Strabogie left the letter with him, & since, I understand, Grant & your other freinds who had adventured to Castle Grant, are safe returned to the Van of the Army under Gen. Bland. L. Albermarle is gone out, & the Regts. marched from this are all advanced to Strabogie. Blyth's debarked yesterday and is very full. It's impossible to Learn when his Royall Highness with the Rest move. The most of the Shipping wt forrage, Stores, Coals, & flower, as well from Leith as London are arrived. Mr. Charles Maitland, with Some Officers of Gen. Guise's Regt., made prisoners at Inverness, have escaped from Nairn, & are now either here or at Strabogie. His R. Highness told at Court yesterday that the Hessians are moving Northward. A Gentleman of my Acquaintance came here Yesterday & is from Earl Lowdown on thursday last. On the 18 & 19 Curr. the Rebels from Cromarty had Conveened all the Murray Boats, & in a Mist on the 19th Came over the Great ferry which divided them, E. Lowdown being in Sutherland. The Fogg favoured the Rebels, who were there about 4000 on the Sutherland Syde, befor Lowdown was aware. The Advanced Guard of his own Regt., about 120 Men, laid down their Arms without firing a Shot. It was said, tho' my freind could not asserve to it, that [Brigadier] McIntosh is made prisoner with them.

'However, E. Sutherland, Sir Harry Innes, with Some of our Towns People wt Lowdown, escaped from Dun-Robin in ane open Boat, & gott to a King's Ship after being 24 Hours tossed in the Boat, arrived Yesterday in Gamrie, & are expected here this night. E. Lowdown has been obliged further to retire into Lord Rae's [Reay's] Country of Strathnaver, & the President \* still continues with him & McLeod. He has 1700 Men with him, & never had the numbers confidently given out to me last week, & which I wrotte you of. We are here now in Pain for

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\* Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President of the Court of Session.

his little Army, & are afraid his junction by Sea with the Army here is effectually prevented.

‘A Very unluckie Matter has hapened here. Three abandon’d wretches have dropt about a Dozen Billets of paper wrote to this purpose to show the Soldiers that the Rebell army is 1800 Men, & dayly supplies of French arriving, saying that God is with these Heroes, and how can they expect to fight against Him and prosper. His Royall Highness is most Justly enraged at this; all pains has been used to discover the writter thereof, and still is continued by the well affected, but hitherto Ineffectually. I believe it will have this bad effect among many more to themselves, that such as have been taken up on Suspicion, or Information, expected to be bailed, will not obtain Bail.

‘I have Seen, since writing above, a Gentleman, or Relation, who has been Volunteer wt E. Lowdoun, since Decr. last, says he made a narrow Escape wt Sutherland; that Lowdoun’s Army cannot Subsist in a Body where they have gone; That McIntosh is prisoner; that Lowdoun, The President, and McLeod are together, & he believes will make for Sky Island; There Military Chest of £12,000 Str. was put on board a King’s Ship; That the Rebells are Wantonly destroying everything possible on the lands of such as had aided Lowdoun, that they have carried Provisions into Sutherland wt them out of Murray, & seem to lay up Magazine there to be as distant as possible from the King’s Army. Those things give great uneasiness, & some reason to fear his Royall Highness may have a Summer’s work of it. However, we still trust the Almighty will bless our Just cause, & appear in due time. I am, Sir, yours &c.’

*From the Same to the Same.*

‘Abdn, 28 March, 1746.

‘SIR,—I unluckily missed the last Poast which should have brought you the Inclosed of 26th Curr. Yesterday a Carrier from the Country brot here the two Inclosed for your Lady & her Sister. His Royall Highness told yesterday at Court that four more Regts. are Shipt for this Town at London, and some draughts for completing the Regts. here are coming over land. The Army still continues at Strabogie & thereabout as formerly. Yesterday Three Troop of Dragoons arrived here, convoy to money for the pay of the Army. I hear a Spy is taken up who its said will be handd. Thos. Spark, Merch., whose writte is said to resemble the Treasonable papers mentioned in my former, has absconded; & one Leslie a hattmaker here, is also Secured on Suspicion of the Same matter. Wm. Young, a Broad Cloth

Mercht., is also secured on Information, & one Dyce, a Vintner also. Pray let me know how soon L. Justice Clerk has a power to grant licences for Shipping with Provisions for this Country, & how wheat is like to rise, & what fore-provision you would advise me to do.

‘I am your most Humble Servt.

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‘E. Sutherland is arrived here, & 2 or 300 more french & Spanish Arms went North Yesterday for the Grants.’

Another of the brilliant but futile expeditions attempted by the Jacobites at this time was the raid into the Athol country made by Lord George Murray, when he beseiged the Castle of Blair, then held for the Hanoverians by Sir Andrew Agnew. Lord George had divided his troops into parties, assigning different posts to be attacked by each, and appointing a rendezvous at Blair Castle. Success crowned the efforts of his soldiers, and the Hanoverians were driven back to the headquarters at Blair. The incident is thus related by Dr. Robert Chambers:—‘The last party taking refuge in the Castle of Blair, its Governor, Sir Andrew Agnew, immediately got his men under arms, and marched out to see who they were that had attacked his posts. It was now nearly daybreak, and Lord George Murray stood at the place of rendezvous with only four-and-twenty men, anxiously awaiting the return of the various parties. Fortunately, he received intelligence by a countryman of the approach of Sir Andrew. He hastily consulted with his attendants; some advised an immediate retreat along the road to Dalwhinnie; others were for crossing over the hills and gaining a place of safety by paths where they could not be pursued. By either of these plans the insurgent parties, as they returned, would have been successively cut off or made prisoners. Lord George, therefore, rejected them, and bethought him of a better expedient. Observing a long turf wall in a field near the bridge, he ordered his men to ensconce themselves behind it, lying at a considerable distance from each other, and displaying the colours of the whole party at still greater intervals. Fortunately, he had with him all the pipers of the corps. These he ordered, as soon as they saw Sir Andrew’s men appear, to strike up their most boisterous pibroch.

The rest he commanded to brandish their swords over the wall. The Blair garrison happened to appear just as the sun rose above the horizon, and Lord George's orders being properly obeyed, the men stood still, seriously alarmed at the preparations which seemed to have been made for their reception. After listening half a minute to the tumult of bagpipes, and casting a brief glance at the glittering broadswords, they turned back, by order of their commander, however, and hastily sought shelter within the walls of the castle. The Highland leader, delighted with the success of his manœuvre, kept post at the bridge till about the half of his men had arrived, and then proceeded to invest Blair.' The remainder of this incident is related in the following letter, written by one of the beleaguered garrison :—

*From an Officer of the Royal Garrison in the Castle of Blair in Athole, to Mr. Buchan of Kelloe.*

'Blair of Athole, 4 Aprile, 1746.

'DR SIR,—On the 17th March, Early in the morning, wee were invested by a bodie of the Rebels, but could not then tell their numbers. However, Eleven of the Cloak their great bodie Marched below Us, and then drew up in Some Sort of Order. Wee were not quite 300, and Retired to our Castle. The next morning they began to Cannouade Us wt two field pieces they had, but to no purpose. Our walls being too thick for them. They then threw Red hot balls into the Roof, thinking to Sett Us on fire, but wee were too nimble for them. They continued this sport for 4 or 5 days, and then thought to starve Us out; but on the first of this month, finding the Hessians were coming to our Relief, they packed off in the night like Aprile fools. Wee lost One Man who was kild by chance. As farr as I can find their Numbers were about 1200 or 1500 Men, tho Some say 2000; and so Ends the famous Seige of Blair Castle, qch I mention to you as ane Apologie for not answering you before. We are quite Strangers to News, but hear Lord Lowdown is in a bad way. I hope in a Little time wee shall be able to stop the Carreer of the Rebels for good and all.'

The famous naval engagement between the *Sheerness* and the *Hazard* in Tongue Bay, Sutherlandshire, was one of the most notable incidents of this part of the campaign. The *Hazard*, a Hanoverian ship, had entered the harbour of Montrose in

November, 1745, for the purpose of punishing the town for supporting the Jacobites. Her commander, Captain Hill, began wantonly to fire upon Montrose, but just at that time a French vessel appeared in the offing, and made its way into the harbour and engaged the *Hazard* in close combat. With assistance from the land the *Hazard* was captured, and transferred to the service of Prince Charles Edward. She was sent to France, and was returning to Scotland with money and valuable supplies for the Jacobite army, when she was sighted by the *Sheerness*, a Hanoverian man-of-war, and was chased. The rest of the story is related in the following letter:—

*From Mr. Buchan's Correspondent in Aberdeen.*

'Aberdeen, the 7th Aprile, 1746.

'SIR,—Yesterday the *Sheerness* Man-of-Warr came into our Bay, and has the *Hazard*, Sloop, which she took after 'ane Engagement of six hours in Tongue Bay in Strathnaver. It seems the *Sheerness* Spied her in the entry to the Murray firth, gave her chase for two Nights and a day overtook her in Tongue Bay. The Hull and Rigging of the *Hazard* are much wounded, and thirty of her men killed. The *Sheerness* in the whole time had only One Man's arm shott away. The *Hazard*, when she could not sustain the feight longer, run ashore, and all the men gott ashore with thirteen thousand pounds Ster. they had on bord; but Lord Reay's people rose and took them prisoners & the money. They are all on bord the *Hazard* & *Sheerness* & there are 34 or 5 officers of Clare's & other Irish French Regts on bord, with one Blyth of Dundie & Leslie\* of Montrose, both Shipmasters, & who it appears were Pilots to the French. The McKays have kept £6000, & the other 7 is put on bord the *Sheerness*. There is among the Prisoners one Coll. Brown† who escaped from Carlisle after the Capitulation, who was sent over to France with notice of the Battle of Falkirk, & who was made on that a Knight of the order of St Lewis,—its said he's to be brought ashore here to be hang'd for the Honour of St Lewis. The *Sheerness* has also a Ship taken on that Coast, who

\* William Lesslie, mariner, Montrose, is included in the 'List of Rebels from Montrose District' given in Lord Rosebery's volume, *A List of Persons concerned in the Rebellion*, p. 174, published by the Scottish History Society.

† Colonel Brown, see Lord Rosebery's volume, *ut sup.*, p. 395.



had load outwards at Newcastle for N. America; and had powder, lead, & Arms on board, which she had been selling to the Rebels,—the Master and Crew escaped. Alexander Innes, Commissary Clerk here and Factor for the E. of Kintore, was last night brought in prisoner, & committed to the Provost Marishall's Guard. Its talked here that he runs a chance to be hang'd, but I cannot yet discover for what. Sir Harry Monroe & Capt Mackay of Lowdown's are come ashore from the Sheerness, confirm E. Lowdown's & the President's being well in Sky wt 900 men. They say the Rebels are in divided small bodys continuing to Committ barbaritys. Mr Rose, Minister at Nairn, and Mr Sutherland, a Bailie there, were tryed by a Court Martiall of the Rebels for being accessory to the Escape of Mr Maitland & other prisoners from Sutherland's house. The Court were much divided & like to come to Blows about the Sentence; & for hindering worse Consequences the Pretender was obliged to dissolve the Court, by which those Gentlemen escaped Hanging.

'The order was yesterday afternoon to the whole to march, but at nine last night they were countermanded, and still continue as formerly. I hear above a hundred Rebels more have come into Strabogie, & laid down their arms to E. Albemarle. L. Charles Gordon & McLeod Junr, with 60 of E. Lowdown's Regt, are also on bord the Sheerness, and all came ashore here this day. Three Dutch Men-of-War have been in our Offing those three days, Some say protecting there Trade and Fishing, while others think they are of the auxiliary ships, as they had a message ashore at the Duke. The Provost Marishall took what money and bank notes from Mr Innes with his Watch last night, which is a bad Simptom. Ane John Clark, Advocate here, a very Industrious young man, is nominate, & has accepted of being Sherriff Substitute, I believe much against his Inclinations. Gordon's Hospital is now almost fortified, & Genll Husk says it is a happy Situation for a small fort; while Ingenner Campbell says its a good deall Stronger by six days work than Inverness Castle was, or could be made.

'I am, Sir, Your most Humble Servt.'

In a letter from Mr. Buchan to the Lord Advocate there are several passages relating to the paralysis of the Scottish Banks during the unsettled period before Culloden, which show how uncertain the Hanoverians were of ultimate victory. The following sentences give an idea of the disquieting rumours then prevalent.

*From Mr. Buchan to the Lord Advocate.*

‘Edinbr., 8 Aprile, 1746.

‘. . . You have my Last advice from Aberdeen qch came here Sunday morning. The Surrenders of some of the Rebells to E. Albermarle is a Meer Report. Sr Arch. in his letter of the 3rd to his daughter from Strabogie, says nothing of it. If a Defection among them was begun, wee might hope for less Ex-pense of Blood and Time in Reducing the Whole. As my Correspondent has causd purchass Barrels of pork at Aberdeen (qrof Mrs Grant has share) Its a Simptom that Meat was there in plentie and not Dear, tho the Consumers were many.

‘Im glad we have here, qch will be in your Gazett on Satur-day next the 12th Curr., that the Rebels have Renewed their Seige of Inverlochie, A Sallie was made successfully, and taken their cannon, qch wee hope may end that attempt, and is the beginning of our good success. Wee Long for News to-Morrow from Strabogie, it being Reported that the Rebels have all gone North the Spey.

‘Wee had Late Last night the News of the Successful defeat of the Renewed Seige of fort William by a Sallie from the Garrison, when they took all the Cannon of the Besiegers, who are Marcht of.

‘This Afternoon Ld Reay arrived in a Ship from Tongue wt all his family. Left the Sheerness Man of warr in the Mouth of the firth, wt the Hazard, Sloop, qch he took, having 20 Officers, among whom Wm Hay, Brother of Dumelior, and 60 private Men, and £13,000 St. of money.

‘To-day I have a letter from a Capt. in the Garrison of Blair, copie Inclosed [see above], being writt like a Soldier. E. Crawford conducted the Relief of the Blair wt great Skill, wtout exposing the Hessians to go throw the pass, and only carried them Near to it for a show, and did the work wt a handful of Dragoons and Hassars.’

The Duke of Cumberland remained in quarters at Aberdeen from 25th February till 8th April. By the latter date the ships with stores had all arrived at Aberdeen, and the roads were in a fair state for marching troops, and it became necessary to move forward to intercept the army of Prince Charles Edward before the men should find refuge in Caithness and Sutherland. Mr. Buchan’s Aberdeen correspondent fully describes the circumstances.

*From Mr. Buchan's Correspondent in Aberdeen.*

'Abdn., 9th Aprile, 1746.

'SIR,—Yesterday Morning the Remaining Six Regts Marched from this, Two for Inverness, and four for Old Meldrum. They propose to be at Banff and Turriff this night, & to go the coast-ways to Joyne at Fochabers E. Albermarle who has all his pairt the Strabogie way. There is a garrison of 200 Men left here with all the sick, under Captn Crosbie of the N. British Fusileers. Major La. Furcell wt. a detachment of 600 Men has Scoured the West pairts of the Country of Angus and Mearns, compelled Severall Skulking Rebels to Submit, brot in here a good many arms, and a Captn Ogilvie prisoner. The Hazard had, besides what I mentioned in my last, on board a good number of Muskets, Pistols, Broad Swords, with Powder and Pistoll Ball. Kirkhill is Bailed one thous. Pound by Skeen, & is confined to his house with a Centinall on him. The most of the other Prisoners have gott out on Bail also. Innes, our Commry Clerk, was carried in, the Captn Provo's Guard, tyed to ane other, a spy, yesterday. Im sorry to hear that the most of the Grants have gone home from their Chief on various pretences. I had almost forgott to say His R. Highness wt. the Genll. Officers went away about six yesterday morning. I have not heard from you these three Poasts. I fear my Intelligence falls out Sometimes in pairt wrong, & sometimes late, & often not worth nottice. As the Army is now gone from this, I fear I shall not be in condition to gett even so good (bad as it is) as formerly; but when any occurrences I expect to be true, comes airly to my hand worth while, I shall, if you incline, advise you thereof. As Reay Sailed with a fair wind the day I sent you his recept, I hope you are possessed of your pork ere now.

'I am, Sir, Your Most Humble Servant.'

The Battle of Culloden was fought on 16th April, and proved to be the final struggle of the campaign. The last letter in this collection was written after the news had reached Edinburgh.

'Edn., 24 Aprile, 1746.

'MY LORD,—I have the pleasure of none from you this post, I repeat my Congratulations on the happie accts you Received Yesterday, and I hope now will still have from this country, till the finall Issue of this Rebellion. . . . Wee have to day the Solemnity of Rejoicing for the Victorie, and this night may have all the Town Illuminated. Your Sister and I go to Rejoyce for this night att Longniddrie, and shall only add our Compliments, and that I am, My Lord, Yours.'

Though these letters do not bring out any startling and unknown fact connected with the Rising of 1745-6, they are valuable as affording a glimpse of the social and domestic condition of the country during that troublous period. They also supply documentary confirmation of several incidents of the campaign, from the repositories of one in a position that required and could command the most authentic information. As a contribution to Jacobite literature from the opposite point of view, they are not without some special value.

A. H. MILLAR.

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## SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

## GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 1, 1898).—Dr. Paul Kleinart opens this number with an article on the sympathy of the Hebrews with Nature in any and all of her moods. ‘Die Naturanschauung des alten Testaments.’ Unlike the Classic races, the Greeks and Romans, who felt awed and oppressed by lofty mountains and bare rocky escarpments, describing them as *horridi montes* and *tremendae rupes*, the Hebrews rejoiced and gloried in them. Their grandeur and colossal forms gave inspiration to their poets, and the people as a whole adored them as the cradle-ground of their religion. But not mountains and hills alone, woods and rivers, calm and tempest, were all regarded as the creations and creatures of God, and as sympathetic witnesses and interested agents of His beneficent and chastening providence. When Israel escaped from Egypt, ‘the mountains,’ one of their poets sang, ‘skipped like rams, and the hills like lambs’ from very joy. When God appeared in anger ‘the earth shook,’ sang another, ‘to its foundations, and the mountains trembled.’ When the captives returned from Babylon ‘the very trees clapped their hands.’ ‘The stars in their courses fought for’ the Israelites, and so secured for them the victory. Dr. Kleinart quotes from all parts of the Old Testament passages like these as illustrating the passionate love of Nature which prevailed among them, and gives us in this way a striking picture of their simple faith, and enjoyment of God’s presence in, and providence over all.—The subject of the next article is the date of the composition of the book of Job ‘Die Abfassungszeit des Buches Hiob.’ Recently Professor Stracks contributed a paper to this same magazine, in which he endeavoured to prove that the book of Job must have been composed before that of Proverbs. Dr. Ley, in this article, criticises and controverts that opinion; and then discusses the larger question of the exact date of the composition of Job. Two methods are followed by scholars in their efforts to solve this problem: (a) passages in the book of Job are compared with passages which refer to the same matters in other books, and their relative dates are thus sought to be determined; (b) passages in Job having reference to historic events are selected, or which indicate the religious or moral views of the writer, or



which exhibit linguistic characteristics peculiar to him, and from these the age in which he lived is sought to be determined. Dr. Ley here makes liberal use of both methods—of the first, chiefly, in his controversy with Prof. Stracks, and of the second, chiefly, in his endeavour to fix the precise date of the book of Job. His conclusion is that the book was written in the reign of Zedekiah, between the years 596 and 586. He comes to this conclusion because of references in the book to the events of that distressful period of Israel's history.—Professor W. Beyschlag, of Halle, furnishes an elaborate criticism of Dr. A. Harnack's recent volume, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis auf Eusebius*. That volume has already engaged a large amount of critical attention, and been the subject of many magazine articles, and monographs. His confession, in the preface, that he has come to regard the traditional views as to the genuineness of the New Testament writings with greater respect than he formerly did, has given the liveliest satisfaction to the more orthodox circles; but Beyschlag shows that Harnack's concessions to tradition do not amount to much. 'He is conservative,' says our reviewer 'where we should have expected him to be liberal, and liberal where we should have expected him to be conservative.' Beyschlag devotes a large part of his review to Harnack's views as to the dates and relations of our Gospels. H. gives to our Mark the priority over the others. He places its composition, in its present form, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, and between 65 and 70. B. adduces evidence from the Gospel itself that it must have been composed later than the Gospel according to St. Matthew. The fact that our Mark confines itself to the Galilean ministry is not noticed by H., but B. discusses it fully and accounts for it. The Johannine question, too, is dealt with at length, and Harnack's position with regard to it shown to be untenable.—The other important articles are: 'Der Codex Bezae und das Lukasevangelium,' and 'Calvin's Auslegung des Decalogs in der ersten Ausgabe seiner Institutio und Luther's Katechismen.'

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (November, 1897).—'Maslan's Frau,' a tragic story by Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach.—Prof. Max Müller returns to his Pferdebürle correspondence, and treats of 'Language and Mind' in the vein familiar to English readers.—Herr Widmann concludes his reminiscences of Johannes Brahms; they deal mainly with holiday excursions, and refer but little to music.—'Goethe's Königsleutenant,' by A. Schöne, is a review of Schubart's recent work on the Comte de Thoranc. The reviewer adds some new information.—Ed.

Strasburger continues his description of the 'Hohe Tatra.'—*'East Asia since the Chino-Japanese War,'* by M. von Brandt, discusses mainly the commercial development of these two countries.—*'Three letters of the Emperor Friedrich's childhood to a boy at Chatillon.'*—*'The Grand Duchess Sophie of Saxony and her relation to the Goethe-und Schiller-Archiv.'*—*'The Politische Rundschau'* deals largely with Spanish affairs.—Among the books noticed is Schelling's translation of the *Odyssey* into 8-lined stanzas.—(December, 1897).—This part opens with the first four chapters of a serial, *'Um der Heimath Willen,'* by Walther Siegfried.—Ed. Strasburger concludes his account of his wanderings in *'Die Hohe Tatra,'* and gives many charming glimpses of the scenery, and people, the plant and animal life of those regions.—Max Lenz discusses the future position of historical science, and undertakes to prove that the historical sense is as remarkable a feature in our day as the scientific sense.—The remaining articles are historical and biographical.—Fritz Jonas writes on the occasion of Theodore Mommsen's 80th birthday (Nov. 30). He remarks that his *History* has been translated into French, English, Italian, Russian, Polish, Spanish and probably other languages.—An anonymous article, *'Fifty Years Ago,'* discusses the changes which have taken place in the light of a saying of Goethe's to the effect that the former time was the period of learning, peace and art, the future that of utility, strife, and industry.—The Editor addresses the veteran critic Karl Frenzel on his birthday.—Hermann Grimm describes a striking picture of the flight of Charles the Bold by the Swiss painter Eugène Burnard, and, by the way, Mistral's *'Miréio.'*—H. Hüffer discusses the vexed question of the date of Heine's birth.—Notes and reviews.—(January, 1898).—Biographical articles again predominate. Hermann Grimm's seventieth birthday is the occasion of a sketch by W. Bölsche.—H. Hüffer writes on the poetess Annette von Droste-Hülshoff.—Karl Krebs on Max Bruch the composer.—The Editor resumes his reminiscences, which this time deal largely with England.—Erich Adickes discusses the relations of faith and knowledge.—*'The supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon Race,'* is a review of an essay by the French writer, Edm. Demolins.

#### R U S S I A .

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL.—*Russian Opinion*—(October, November, and December, 1897).—*'Poetry,'* though not a great feature in this monthly magazine, has a continuous place within it. We have at present specimens by Ivan Bounin, Vladimir Lahdyzhenski, K. K. Slewtschewski (Ten Songs from

'Ougholka'), Michael Gherbanofski, V. P. Polonski, and V. Savodnik.—The only complete romance occupying each of three numbers is entitled 'A Court Arbitrator,' translated from the English of Hemlin Harlend?—The French romance 'Provincial Mire' from the pen of Camille Verniola, commenced previously to October, runs also through the three current numbers, but is happily ended.—'A Dead Morass,' a novel by Ek. Leytkoff, is complete in the October and November numbers.—'Orloff's Spouse,' a short tale of 50 pages, by M. Ghorki, and 'Whirling Years,' from his own recollections, an interesting personal narrative in 23 sections, by I. A. Saloff, the one is complete, the other completed in the October number.—'Tangled Recollections,' by A. A. Stakhovitch, in the November number, are to be continued later on.—'A Tedious City' is a sharp criticism from the pen of a Moscow writer, D. V. Grigorovitch, of the newer capital St. Petersburg, which is no surprise to those acquainted with both cities. The prefix 'Sankt' is now almost entirely dropped by Russians, and the city on the Neva has become simply Petersburg. Mr. Grigorovitch's bile, however, evaporates in 16 of the November pages.—'Ophelia,' a tale by V. G. Avsienka; 'Philemon and Bavkida,' a tale by I. A. Saloff; and 'Cæsar's Wife,' a tale by E. Shavroff, are each complete in the December number. Thus far Part I, the imaginative portion of our work, of which the most remarkable feature is the entire absence of the name of the Polish writer Henri Sankevitch.—In Part II, the practical, scientific, and historical portion, we are treated to three further instalments of I. I. Ivanyoukoff's 'Outlines of Provincial Life.'—We have also:—'Enlargement of Civic Representation,' an historical sketch, 1862 to 1892, by Dimitri Semenoff; 'Kirchhoff and the Spectrum Analysis,' by N. Stepanoff; 'On Sweden,' by L.; 'On Indian Women,' by S. D.; 'Municipal Administrative Enterprise in English Cities,' by I. Ozeroff; 'The Economical Crisis in Bessarabia,' by N. Y. Bykhofski; 'The Problem of Organising National Schools,' the difficulties of which are not confined to Russia, by V. P. Vakhteroff; 'The Moscow Society of Letters,' by T.; 'The Salvation Army and its Social Scheme,' an appreciative paper of 33 pages, by P. Ghorbounoff, based upon the authentic records of the Booth family. Unfortunately for the 'General' and his family, as the Russian language is short of the two Greek sounds of *ð* and *θ* as exemplified in the English words *booth* and *throb*, the well-known name of our Salvationist leaders has degenerated into 'Boots.' But the matter furnished by Mr. Ghorbounoff for his Russian readers is full of suggestion. We count no fewer than 17 books from which he quotes, from

*Darkest England to Heathen England* downward, and we feel as if the 'General' had turned his lantern upon a rather disagreeable sight.—A review of A. Shakhoff's 'Goethe and his Times,' by P. S. Kogan, then follows; also 'National Formation [Obrazovaniye, Education or Civilization] in France and England,' an anonymous paper dilating, in the English section, on the great efforts made of late in the east end of London, the writings of Sir Walter Besant and Mrs. Humphrey Ward, the work of Toynbee Hall, the People's Palace, etc.; 'Walks in Sicily,' by M. I. Venyukoff; and 'Our Imperial Finances,' by Vladimir Biryukovitch.—'Home Review' is replete with domestic information, of which the most interesting to a stranger is the description of the Ladies' Medicinal Institute, with its necessary Pharmaceutical Course.—'Foreign Review,' by V. A. Goltzeff, has no lack of subjects, the Austrian troubles, Spanish colonial rebellions, the Dreyfus case, and Indian frontier fighting furnishing ample material for the critic-chronicler.—Slipped in, as by an after-thought, in this late place in the December number, is a pleasant paper by I. I. Ivanoff, on 'The Swan-like Songs of Shakespeare.'—'Contemporary Art,' with its copious musical and theatrical record, gives us, however, no English name to quote.—Part III, the 'Bibliographic Division,' contains notices of 73 publications, of which the bulk are by Russian authors, a few only being translated from the German.

RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW (Voprosi, Philosophii i Psychologii, No. 38)—opens with a reply to the corresponding paper in the last number of the *Review*, by M. Alexander Vvedenskie on Atheism in the Philosophy of Spinoza. This reply is by the well-known Russian thinker, M. Wladimir Solovieff, who places at the head of his article 'In Defence of the Philosophy of Spinoza.' He begins by a complimentary reference to his opponent's usefulness, as a contributor to this Philosophical Journal, although he disagrees with him on the article in question. According to the determination of Spinoza, God is an absolutely infinite Being, *i.e.*, a substance consisting of an unending multitude of attributes, each of which expresses His eternal and infinite being. In connection with this, Spinoza sees in God an activity directed towards special aims, also free will, and consequently Personality in the general sense of the term. From this, Prof. Vvedenskie concludes that the Philosophy of Spinoza is Atheism. Although in his ethics, the philosopher speaks every minute of God, naming Him the absolute substance, he has no right to do so, for the conception of God is really absent in his speculations. Undoubtedly, says

Prof. Vvedenskie, each one understands God in his own way, *i.e.*, so long as we continue to make use of the known or understood terms, or until we contradict the indications implied; but if this be admitted the right of all to understand God in his own way is incontestible so long as the limits placed are conformed to. But how are we to find these indications? In the opinion of Prof. Vvedenskie, they are the general attributes that are ascribed to God in all actual religions. Let us view the indications, says he, which were common for Zeus and for Perun and for the God of the Mahommedans, the God of the Christians, and even for the God of the Fetichists. They will be indications which, being given a logically permissible play of words, no one will have the right to contradict them. M. Solovieff shows that in Southern Buddhism in Ceylon, in Nepaul, and in great part of Indo-China, where the original teaching of Shakya-Muni is preserved, there is no place for a personal Being as a part of the worship of God. From Buddhism M. Solovieff goes to the religion of India with its Vedas and Upanishads, its great complexity of doctrine and ritual. Here we have, if not the Atheism which M. Vvedenski attributes to Spinoza, in the belief that the true God is the All, and the All is the true God, a Pantheism in the exact and strict sense of the word, though at the same time, it does not aid M. Vvedenskie, for it ascribes absolute knowledge to its Pantheistic Divine-Being. Leaving this, our author goes to certain men, as Goethe and Spinoza, whose natural tendency was towards a Pantheistic religion; passes on to mystics like Jacob Böhme, and comes to the apologetic conclusion that the conception of God given us in the philosophy of Spinoza, with all its lack of fulness and completeness, yet answers to the first and imperative demand of divine worship and divine thought. He expresses, finally, his recognition of the clearness of Professor Vvedenskie's exposition.—To this article succeeds one by H. Struve on the 'Faculty and Development of the Philosophical Reason,' which turns, as the author says, exclusively on Personality, endowed with determining faculties and a corresponding development. Every kind of research, relative to the essence of philosophy, but giving no attention to the character of the philosophical Reason, remains in the sphere of abstract judgment and cannot possess any living significance. Philosophy, truly so called, does not consist of such as is preserved in books, but of an active and living principle in the human Reason. Hence it follows, that all theoretical and historico-critical research, concerning philosophy and its existence, its problems and aims, ought to be undoubtedly a complete



analysis of the philosophizing Reason, its faculty and development—such is the aim of the present article. The first thing is to examine the typical faculties of the philosophizing Reason, secondly, the dialectical, thirdly, the critical, and fourthly, the constructive Reason. In discoursing, therefore, on the typical faculties of the philosophizing faculty, there is (1) activity and independence of thought, (2) the critical power, (3) the faculty of laying hold by the reason of the fundamental questions of human knowledge, so as to form a complete World-Conception. After dealing with the development of these moments, the author proceeds to consider them in relation to individual philosophers. It is obvious that every philosopher wishing to deal with and work out the problems of philosophy ought to master in their full extent the dialectical and constructive faculties and equally, the critical faculty. Nevertheless, in actual life, in the history of philosophy, we do not encounter personalities who have mastered all these faculties with the same degree of development. A very obvious place for the manifestation of their faculties is in the history of the ancient philosophy. In the position of Plato and Aristotle we see, in the former, great independence and liveliness of the dialectical Reason, united with the highest degree of the constructive faculty. As regards Aristotle, thanks to the varied form of his philosophical organization, in him was constituted the highest development of Greek philosophy. In the newer philosophy, the first place in this relation belongs to Descartes, Leibnitz, and Kant. In them the high development of the dialectical and constructive faculties was supplemented by a corresponding development of critical activity. In consequence of this, the philosophical productions of these thinkers, show a decided influence on the course of the newer philosophy, both in relation to dialectical and constructive power, and in relation to critical power. The majority of other philosophers present a preponderance of the highest development in one of the above-mentioned elements of the philosophical reason, supplemented by other elements only so great as they are necessary for the work of philosophizing in general. This article is to be continued.—On it follows a continuation by M. Gilyaroff of former articles on 'Anticipatory Thought of the Death of our Age in France.' The opening thought of this, the Fourth Article, is, on the declaration of Maupassant, on the enormous love of Frenchmen for the female sex as a distinguishing peculiarity amongst the nations of the earth. The Frenchman loves them strongly, hotly, and frivolously, with reason and heart, so that French gallantry may not be compared with that of another nation. This thought he follows

out to its natural conclusion, *la bête humaine* of Zola, and the pessimism of Schopenhauer and Hartmann.—The article which succeeds, is by Professor Lopatin, one of the editors of the journal, the subject, 'Spiritualism as a Psychological Hypothesis.' It opens by the statement that the prevailing view at present in regard to the phenomena of soul and body, may be characterized by the terms *physiological Monism*. The sense of this view, the author says, may be shortly expressed in the following fashion: 'It is not needful to recognise the soul as something special, something independent of the body, the source of psychical phenomena; on the whole in scientific exposition, it is sufficient for us to see in the intellectual life a function of variously formed physiological processes in the brain and nervous system. This does not indicate that partisans of the Monistic hypothesis are wholly materialists; the hypothesis presents itself as a more rapid method of research rather than as a positive doctrine concerning the existence of humanity. James says, "As psychology moves on Materialistic lines, and in the interest of its final success, it ought to be left full freedom to move in this direction, even by those who believe that it will never reach this, its final end, without turning back. In a line with this preference, for the hypothesis of physiological Monism, there may usually be remarked with physiologists a decided prejudice against the old spiritualistic and dualistic view of the psychical life. The bankruptcy of the opposite view, which has prevailed for a whole century without practical result, allows everything feasible to be said. Nothing has been added to the peculiar doctrine of faculties by which the soul is divided into inconceivable parts, each of which, in its order, is shown to have an independent being, notwithstanding fruitless controversies about the seat of the spirit, and empty contentings concerning various other not less empty and insoluble questions." Is this a correct judgment? Is it exactly what the spiritualistic hypothesis gives, and always ought to give, and only can give? Is it not a fact that there is no real theoretical worth or preference in the system thus pursued? Should we not occupy the point of view of strict experience, and not go off into the old metaphysical method of settling problems? If we look at spiritualism and physiological Monism as two possible leading hypothesis, and ask ourselves whether there be any special convenience in spiritualism which is lacking in Monism, and which permits in the research of psychical phenomena an escape into spiritualistic presuppositions?' The author proceeds to examine the weak points of the Monistic hypothesis. He holds it to be of great value; it has called attention to

psychological research, and we are for the most part obliged to it for very great successes, but there exists in it very great imperfections which ought to be clear to the unprejudiced psychologist. Before all, it begets in its partizans, an involuntary tendency to psychological schematism, instead of free and all-sided observation and research of psychological facts in their inner subjective nature, which, for itself, presents a problem very difficult; it wastes its powers upon the discovery of all kinds of *schemes* as to physiological processes in the brain, which ought to explain these facts in all their complexity, and places very often in this the chief aim of its investigations. One problem sometimes drives out and takes the place of another. In this, there would not be great loss, if such schematisms had a relative scientific value. Another weak point of Monism noted by M. Lopatin is included in the unavoidable confirmation of absolute passivity in the intellectual subject, and, by admission, the purely illusory character of its activity as represented by its activity in our consciousness of its activity. The third, weak point of the Monistic theory is not less closely bound to Physiological Schematism; in Monistic psychology are shown an extraordinary number of *final facts* more inexplicable by laws, or from the data of psychical life, for immediate self-observation of the undoubted inner relation and inseparable unity of these facts.—The final paper of the number is a continuation, from the thirty-sixth number of the *Journal*, on 'Western Influence in Russia in the 17th Century,' which is named to put it within the circle of subjects treated by the *Journal*, an Historico-Psychological outline. It is really within the field of Church History, though lately the minister of the Holy Synod has declared that, in Russia, Church and State are two sides of one and the same thing. Here the article opens on a well-worn theme, as the writer confesses, with the Patriarch Nikon and the Dissenters. It is stated at the outset, *e.g.*, that the origin of the Dissenters is to be traced to reforms, and we are further introduced to the reasons of State which were urged upon the Tzar Michael to favour the great Protestant hero, Gustavus Adolphus, in the conflict with Rome and the Catholic League. This is too absolutely ancient history to awaken an echo in the present. No doubt the grand remedy for the disorders of that time lay in the instruction of the clergy, but equally in the diffusion of knowledge among the laity, without which the clergy would have had scant support.—In the special part of the *Journal* we have a continuation of the article on 'The Relation of Colours to Sounds and Musical Tones;' a succeeding article

on 'Biological Mechanism and Materialism;' 'The Theory of Knowledge,' by Ernest Mach, and further controversial articles, review of books, and 'Bibliography.'

## ITALY.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Oct. 16)—Prof. Villari notices various English works on Macchiavelli remarking that Mr. John Morley's book leaves in the soul of the reader a serious interrogative note.—Rovetta's novel, 'The Idol,' approaches its conclusion.—Dr. Primerano discusses the question of the Erythrea.—'The Repentance of Antonio Gallenga' is a fragment from the forthcoming work *The Story of Young Italy*, by the author, W. Faldella.—F. Grispolta writes on Catholic Congresses and Organisation in Italy.—G. De Sollis sends a paper on 'August Platen in Italy.'—A. Frassiti writes on the Foreign Policy of Italy and the Franco-Russian Alliance.—In the 'Notes' are mentioned, at greater or lesser length, the following English works:—'Alfred Lord Tennyson,' 'A History of Renaissance Architecture in England,' 'Twelve English Statesmen,' 'William Blackwood and his Sons,' 'Collected Poems of Austin Dobson,' and the translations of 'Italian Folk-songs,' in the *Nineteenth Century* of October.—(November 1st.)—Signor Cappelli writes an important letter to the editor, saying a decisive word relative to the discussion raised by the article by Signor Frassato, published in the same review. Capelli fully describes the foreign policy of Count Robilant, and affirms that the 'double alliance' alters nothing with regard to the Triple Alliance.—'Don Abbondio' is a study of that admirable figure from Manzoni's romance, by A. Graf.—G. Rovetta's romance, 'L'Idolo,' is ended. It deserves a careful criticism which would take up too much space in this summary.—G. Bizzozzero contributes a hygienic study.—M. Rapisardi contributes a poem 'The Two Voices.'—E. Daneo writes on 'Magistrates and Justice.' G. de Lollis concludes his article on 'Platen in Italy.'—A. Lustig contributes notes of a journey to India for the purpose of studying the plague.—G. Castaglione sends a statistic letter on the municipal situation in Milan.—G. Chiarino has some pleasant rambles among Chaucer's Tales.—(November 16th.)—Professor Carducci sends the first three parts of a 'Memoir of Albert Mario, during the years 1841 to 1861.'—A. Mosso discusses the causes of the effeminacy of the Latin races.—E. Panzacchi contributes a poem, 'The Hunt of Nimrod.'—D. Oliva reviews Ferrera's *Young Europe*.—G. Ricca-Salerno discusses Municipal Collectivism.—G. Chiarino concludes his excursion among Chaucer's Tales.—A. Rossi has something to say on African politics.—(December 1st.)—Professor

Carducci continues his biography of Albert Mario.—O. Grandi contributes a tale entitled 'On the Brink of Sin.'—G. Mezzocapo sends a short paper on 'Erythrea and its Colonies.'—Follows a chapter from the Life and Times of Henry Mayer, illustrated by hitherto inedited documents. In 1833 Henry Mayer, after a meeting of the British and Foreign School Society, went to the Athenæum Club and there met Prince Jerome Bonaparte, who was living in London under the name of Prince de Montfort. Prince Jerome 'looked like a good, stout farmer.' The chapter goes on to describe the manner in which the Bonapartes lived in Rome during the winter.—E. Checchi describes Puccini's new opera, 'Tosca,' which will be produced probably at Rome.—Another odd chapter is one from the forthcoming work, *Travels and Hunts in Africa*, by Felice Scheibler, describing the sports of the colonists at Kassala.—A. Sona writes on the late Henry George.—An ex-diplomatist discusses the Eastern Question.—G. Pascolo contributes verses entitled 'Andrée,' poetising the report that human voices had been heard at sea from the Soffjord.—G. Saracca has a political paper entitled 'Are we poor or not?'

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (December 16).—C. Nibra relates in verse the romance of Tristan and Iseult.—Lieutenant Altimara gives a striking picture of the African campaign under the title of 'The Caravan of Death.'—Follows Professor Villari's lecture on the 'Dante Society,' delivered last October at Milan.—Countess Lovatelli contributes a short paper on 'The Vigils of Ancient Rome.'—Carlo Legré sends an interesting paper founded on W. Fraser Rae's 'Biography of Sheridan.'—R. Mariano writes on the 'Condemnation of Rosmini,' and R. Bonfadini on 'Frederico Gonfalonieri.'—E. Boutet contributes an admirable study on 'Ermete Zacconi,' the great Italian tragedian.—Gabriele D'Annunzio sends a word-picture of the 'Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.'—V. Besezio has a paper on two Italian journalists, C. B. Bottero and Casmiro Teja.—XXX writes on 'Austrian Politics with relation to the Italians of the Coast.'

RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (16th December).—The Rev. De Felice writes on evolution under the title 'For Love of a Hypothesis.'—Professor Zampini reviews at length Father A. M. Weiss' 'The Social Question.'—L. Fortes contributes some records of the political life of E. Visconti Venosta.—A country priest writes in favour of 'The Bicycle for the Clergy.'—A. Lavria sends the first part of some amusing 'Neapolitan Recollections,' the present portion being on Pasquale Altavilla.—P. Cabrini reviews the latest romance by Emilio De-



Mardie, whom he compares to Manzoni. The romance is entitled 'Giacomo l'Idealerta' and contains dialogues and scenes of incomparable beauty.

NAPOLI NOBILISSIMA (October)—contains: 'The Strada di Chiaia till 1782,' by F. di Stigliano.—'The Royal Preserve of Astroni, and its Ancient Baths,' by N. del Pezzo.—'The Castle of Castiglione,' by Baron Castiglione.—'The villa del Balzo at Capodimonte,' by Laura Cosentini.—(November)—An interesting paper is 'The Chapel of San Gennaro,' described by a monk of the 14th century, Bernardino Siciliano, who, in an illuminated MS., kept in the Brancaccia Library at Naples, wrote a long poem in honour of the saint, and mentions the miracle of the saving of Naples from an eruption of Vesuvius. The description of the lava approaching the city, the fall of hot ashes, which destroyed vegetation for miles around, and the flight of the inhabitants of Torre del Greco, and the other Vesuvian towns, reminds one strangely of the events of the modern eruption in 1872.—The article on the 'Street Toledo, Sixty Years Ago,' is ended; it is illustrated by engravings representing a lady and gentleman being carried by porters across the street inundated by water two or three feet deep.—N. del Pezzo's description of Astroni is also ended.

RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (October 1).—Lieutenant Salaris contributes a statistical study of late events in Greece, from personal observation.—Signor Breda writes on the important subject of 'Horse-breeding in Italy.'—In honour of the anniversary of the birth of an almost forgotten Italian poet, Giuseppe Besenghi degli Ughi, Signor Valle publishes one of the best of that poet's odes, a posthumous ode written for a wedding.—This number's instalment of 'Private Life in Bologna during the Middle Ages,' treats of clothes, dwellings, weddings, and funerals.—(October 16)—C. Lupi writes advocating the better care and arrangement of State Archives in Italy, with more easily obtainable permission to study therein.—G. Morando contributes a chapter from his forthcoming work, entitled 'Psychology, Logic, and Ethic.'—Follows a translation of Juvenal's 'Satire on Education.'—P. Giacosa, writing on the question whether there exists a possibility of physical and intellectual perfection in the human race, opines that all social evils would be completely eliminated from human life if the moral and social truth that lies in Christianity were recognised and acted on.—The 'Bibliographical Review' mentions J. Wood Brown's *The Life and Legend of Michael Scott*, praising the importance of the book and the beauty of the edition. It is noticed that there are a few errors in the

Italian (quotations?) which would no doubt be corrected in a second edition.—(November 1)—P. Giovanni Giovannozzi has a detailed description of the proceedings of the 'Fourth National Congress of Catholic Savants,' noting the friendly cordiality existing between the members, and the hopes entertained by all of meeting again at Munich in 1900.—Follows Prof. Lampertico's 'Lecture on Rosmini,' delivered at Rovereto on the occasion of the first centenary of the birth of that philosopher.—The present portion of 'Life in Bologna in the Middle Ages,' treats principally of the barbarous punishment inflicted on criminals of every kind. Corporal chastisement, including beheading, the amputation of hands, feet, tongue, or nose, burning alive, whipping, and all kinds of torture. In 1312 a man was condemned to be hanged for having stolen the chain of a well. Two notaries were condemned to have their right hands amputated for having torn out two documents from a book of fines. Another man was skinned alive and then burnt for being guilty of false accusation. Anyone convicted of having spoken ill of the prince or magnates of the city were condemned to have their tongues cut out. Coiners of false money were boiled alive, or made to swallow the liquified metal, in a boiling state, of the coins they had forged. Sometimes a condemned assassin or thief was carried, sitting naked on a cart, while an executioner tortured him with red-hot pincers until they came opposite the unfortunath man's house; then his right hand was amputated, and he was then taken to the city gate, when the same operation was performed on his left hand. Mutilated in this fashion, he was taken before the Podertà and his eyes torn out. Finally his body was quartered, and the pieces fastened to the city gate. In 1305 a murderer was tied to a stake, tortured with red-hot pincers, then taken to a field, where he was burned alive, head downwards. Criminals were often exposed to the derision of the citizens for days together. In 1464 a priest was confined in an open cage, in the depth of winter, for two months. When released, the cold endured had deprived him of the use of his legs. Another priest was walled up, chained hand and foot, and fed with three ounces of bread and six ounces of water daily, till he died of exhaustion. While priests were treated with this cruelty, nuns were not much better off. So many girls were forced to take the veil against their will that scandals often occurred in nunneries. In 1332 the Cardinal Legate ordered the destruction of four nunneries 'because of the bad conduct of the nuns.' In 1403 a decree was issued forbidding the playing of organs, harps, or any other instrument, in the nunneries, as the

music corrupted the nuns! After a few years the law became obsolete, but was renewed again later. Of course, in times such as these, witchcraft was rife, and many people were accused of practising magic, and condemned. In 1429 a woman named Caternia, wishing to work a charm on her husband, tore out the heart of a live pigeon with her teeth, saying, 'I take thy heart, not as thine own, but as the heart of my husband.' She then hid the heart in the chimney till it was dry, pulverized it, and put the powder into a drink for her husband. She was condemned to be burnt. In a city frequented by thousands of students of all nations, there was naturally much immorality, and severe measures were taken against the courtesans who flocked to the city. They were ordered to dwell without the walls, and to wear a particular dress. At one time they were allowed to walk in the city on Saturdays, wearing a cap with a bell, so that all might recognise their calling. In 1525 a long yellow ribbon, hanging from the shoulder, was substituted for the bell, and they might else wear what they liked. They began to clothe themselves in white, so the Government made a law in 1545 that they should dress entirely in yellow, the most despised colour, but the law soon fell into disuse. The customs at the famous University were very curious, and, if space afforded, would be well worth describing in detail. A contract, signed in 1286, between the rector of a church and two German students, will give an idea of their manner of life. The rector bound himself to provide lodging and board, the food to consist of good bread and wine in the morning, and meat at evening. Fire was to be provided when necessary, and a servant to carry the books for study. All this for the annual sum of 50 Bolognese lire (about 250 francs). The books of the period were so voluminous and heavy that the servant to carry them to the University and back was a necessity, and a tax had to be paid to the University beadle according to the space they occupied on the desks. They were also very expensive, so that only very rich students could afford to have their own; others clubbed for the use of the books they needed. Theft was pretty common among the students themselves, and the beadles were also often dishonest. University life ended when the student obtained his doctor's diploma, which was bestowed after eight years for students of civil law, six of canonical law, five of medicine. The successful student feasted his comrades royally after the examinations, and custom obliged him to make a gift of sweetmeats and wine to the Archdeacon and his Vicar, a ring and a cap and a pair of gloves to the Prior, and mantle and hoods to the servants of the college. Also,

the new-made doctor had to pay many taxes, and tips to the drummers and fifers who accompanied him home in triumph. The procession consisted of numbers of students and all the doctors of the successful man's college. One memorable example of such a solemnity occurred after the successful examination of a certain Taddeo Pepoli, whose wealthy father clothed all the different companies of the city in splendid habits, and gave a banquet with great display of silver-plate. University life was interspersed with many other festivities, to which grantees of other countries were invited. One of these festivities was 'The presentation of the first snow.' When the first snow-storm in the season occurred, the counsellors of each nation, with their beadles, presented a snowball contained in a special basin, to the Gonfaliere, the Ancients, the Archbishop, the Rector of the Spanish College, the Legate, and the Vice-Legate, receiving from all these dignataries gifts of wine and provisions, which were consumed at night with great gaiety. In the 15th century this custom was abolished, but renewed in 1592 after an unusually long and severe snow-storm.—Professor Liroy writes an interesting paper on 'Criminal Anthropology,' discussing the works of Lombroso, Ferri, and other writers of the kind.—T. Roberts writes in a pessimistic style about 'Family, School, and the Press.'—(November 16).—Professor de Giorgi, of Lecce, gives an interesting scientific description of the tornado that devastated the town of Oria on the 21st September last.—A. Brunialti writes on the 'Latin Monarchy of Jerusalem;' and G. Grabinski contributes another portion of his work on 'Parquier.'—G. Denti represents fiction with a short tale entitled, 'An Old Story.'—(December 1).—This number includes a long article on the 'Grand Manœuvres at Verona;' a review of Saverio Fino's poems, *Rime Nazza-rene*;' another instalment of 'Life in the Middle Ages at Bologna,' describing fashionable games; an article on the 'Serial Tale;' and some 'Inedited Documents of Marchese and Quasti.'

## FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 5, 1897).—M. A. Sabatier reviews at considerable length the recently published life of Christ—*Jésus de Nazareth; Etudes critiques sur les antécédents de l'histoire évangélique et la vie de Jésus*,—by Dr. A. Réville. M. Sabatier speaks of the work in terms of high praise. He contrasts it with some of the more important works on the same subject, such as Strauss' *Leben Jesu*, and Renan's *Vie de Jésus*. M. Sabatier characterises the last mentioned book as a 'Roman' rather than a 'Biographie.' Its

popularity was with the emotional, not with the scientific. Réville's work, however, appeals to the latter, and not to the former. It is a serious effort to determine the value of the texts on which we have to depend for our knowledge of the history of Jesus, and to define what that knowledge amounts to. 'L'auteur,' says M. Sabatier, 'ne donne rien à la l'imagination, et ne cède que très rarement au sentiment.' The contents of M. Réville's two volumes are briefly outlined, and special attention called to the chapters, in the first volume, which deal with the origin of Hebrew monotheism, with the religious parties in the time of Christ, and with the Herods. On the first and the last of these chapters M. Sabatier has some criticisms to offer. M. Sabatier agrees for the most part with Réville's views as to the 'sources' on which we have to depend for our knowledge of Christ's life, and with his estimate of their historical value. This agreement does not, however, extend to M. Réville's verdict as to the Fourth Gospel. On this point M. Sabatier criticises M. Réville's position adversely; as also some of his interpretations of the actions of Jesus; such as His choice of the designation 'Son of Man,' and His leaving the City of Jerusalem and going to Gethsemane. The work as a whole, however, will, he thinks, free the history of Jesus from 'la tyrannie du dogme et des illusions de la fantaisie qui l'ont dérobée jusqu'ici.'—M. V. Scheil furnishes a French translation of some of the more important Assyrian texts published by M. Craig in the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, No. XIII. (Hinrichs), in 1895, as likely to be both interesting and useful to those engaged in studies of early religious thought.—'La place du totémisme dans l'évolution religieuse à propos d'un livre récent,' is the title of the next article, which is from the pen of M. L. Marillier. The recent work referred to is Dr. Jevons' *Introduction to the History of Religion*. This article, however, is really an original study of Totemism, its origin, character, and varieties. Lengthy as this article is, it may be said to be only introductory to the proposed review of Dr. Jevons' book. M. Marillier traces, first, the history of the study of Totemism from the publication of MacLennan's epoch-making work, *Studies in Ancient History*, up to the present time. MacLennan's theories, with their later modifications, and those of Tylor, Morgan, Lubbock, Spencer, Max Muller, Clodd, Frazer, W. Robertson Smith, Lang, etc., are all examined, and their points of difference noted, and their respective views criticised. Mr. H. Spencer's theory is very elaborately detailed, and its defects, as explanatory of the genesis of Totemism, pointed out, nay, demonstrated. Mr. J. G. Frazer's *Totemism*, which M. Marillier regards as an indis-



pensable 'Handbook' to every student of the subject, with his *Golden Bough*, and W. Robertson Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, and his *Religion of the Semites*, are all dealt with very fully, and their important points set forth with great fulness of detail, and criticised with candour, if also with sympathy. Dr. Jevons is on most points in agreement with Dr. Robertson Smith, and, in criticising the latter, M. Marillier may be said, therefore, to be criticising his 'pupil,' as M. M. calls Dr. Jevons. The special examination of Dr. Jevons' book falls, however, to the part of M. Marillier's article which is to follow. —M. J. Réville gives us an interesting account of the proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists, which was held at Paris, in September, 1897; and M. A. Aall performs a similar service regarding the Congress of Religious Sciences, which was held at Stockholm on the last days of August and the first days of September, 1897.

LE MUSÉON ET LA REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 5. 1897).— Monseigneur Dr. C. de Harlez gives an account, drawn from an ancient Chinese work, *The Tcheou-li*, of the medicinal art, as regulated and practised by State order in China from about the tenth to the third century B.C. It is an extremely interesting article, and is illustrative of the great administrative capacities and prudent foresight of the rulers of China in those early times. The physicians there were all under State control, and were paid by the State. They were at the service of the people as well as of the Court. They were organised into sections under one supreme chief. Each section, again, had its own responsible director, to whom all in it were subordinate. Each was called to deal with a special class of diseases, or watch over its own department of work, hygienic or other. There was a medical, a surgical, and hygienic department, with sub-sections. There was also a veterinary department. At the end of each year the various sections had to submit their reports to their respective heads, who had to report to the chief of the entire corps; and each physician, or surgeon, etc., was then paid according to the number of cures he had to his credit. The state of medical science is also described. Each season of the year was regarded as having its own special maladies. The various parts of the body had their own diseases, whose symptoms were all detailed for behoof of the 'Faculty.' The diagnosis of each by any physician had to be registered by him in his notes to be submitted to his chief. If any patient died, the cause of his death, and the circumstances under which he died, had all to be minutely described. Diseases that were seen and noted from the first to

be incurable, did not count against the physician in fixing his annual salary. The department of Hygiene concerned itself chiefly with the food to be eaten by the people at various seasons of the year; with how it was to be prepared; and with what accompaniments it was to be taken. The medical theories in vogue at that time are also noted. These are found detailed in another work, *The Tso-tchuen, or Annals of Tso*. According to this authority, there are six elements, each of which produces its special troubles to the human frame. Specifics were agreed upon for this disease and for that; but individual skill and discretion were allowed to vary them at will, with, of course, the risk of black marks, so to speak, against the innovator. Natural remedies were much relied on, such as sleep and good suitable nourishment. Kindness and sympathy were strongly recommended in those having to do with the sick, whether in the capacity of physician or nurse. Of course occult influences of the spirit-world had to be guarded against, or managed, and the practitioner, who was skilled in that department, was in greatest favour.—M. O. Richter gives us a brief notice of an article in the *Bulletin* of the Catholic University of Washington, on the 'Avesta and the Bible,' by Professor C. Aiken, and in which the translation of the Avesta by the late M. James Darmesteter is spoken of as superior to the other translations which have been given by others. M. Richter writes here to controvert that statement, and instances several mistakes which appear in M. Darmesteter's version.—Count H. de Charencey continues his article on the historian of Mexico, Bernardino de Sahagun's work—*The History of the Mexicans and their Migrations*.—M. A. Marre continues, too, his translation of the *Sadjarah Malayu*. The section given in this number is Chapter XIV.—M. the Abbé de Moor gives us another instalment of his treatise, 'La geste de Gilgames, confrontée avec la Bible et avec les documents historiques indigènes.' In the two former sections the author has endeavoured to identify the principal characters and events in the legend with the heroes and incidents mentioned in early Biblical story, as given in Genesis.—An account follows of the proceedings of the Fifteenth Congress of Orientalists, held at Paris from the 5th to the 12th of May, 1897. The notice is brief, merely naming the various sections, and the principal papers read in them.—The reviews and the 'Chronique' follow, and the latter is a very welcome summary of the books recently issued bearing on important points of religious history or criticism.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (November, 1897).—M. Goblot discusses the various theories which seek to explain why we see

objects upright, though the retinal image is reversed. He supports the theory of Berkeley, Johann Müller and Volkmann, which has been confirmed by the recent experiments of Mr. Stratton (Berkely, California), that it is due to accommodation of our visual to our tactile impressions.—M. Philippe considers some experiments made on mental images.—The latter portion is devoted to an exhaustive review of M. Paul Janet's *Principles of Metaphysics and Psychology*.—(December).—In an article which was begun in last month's part, M. Felix le Dantec discusses 'Neo-Lamarckian Theories.' He deals with them mainly as set forth by the American palaeontologist, E.-D. Cope, and subjects them, especially Cope's view of the part played by consciousness in variation, to a searching examination based on his own chemical theory of life.—'L' Education et la Motilité Volontaire,' by M. Ch. Féré, details a series of experiments on the motility of the hand, and concludes by showing the strong probability that the benefit of muscular or mental training is not local but general.—M. Speranski discusses the 'Psychological Origin of Metaphors.' He rejects Mr. Herbert Spencer's theory, and seeks to show that figurative language originated in primitive man's view of natural phenomena.—Among the books reviewed is Mr. Merz's *History of European Thought in the XIX. Century*, of which M. Tannery says 'it is a pleasure to follow a thinker who does not confine himself in the narrow formulæ of the schools, and at the same time is able to avoid the scepticism, more or less avowed, which too often accompanies the historical spirit.'—Vernon Lee and C. Anstruther-Thomson's 'Contemporary' article on 'Beauty and Ugliness' is also characterised as notable in the history of theories of art.—(January, 1898).—M. A. Fouillée contributes an extract on 'The Factors of National Character,' from his forthcoming work on the psychology of the French people.—The first part of an article on 'The Mental Condition of Auguste Comte,' by Dr. Dumas.—'The perception of resemblance,' by P. Malapert.—Mr. Selby-Bigge's *British Moralists of the XVIII. Century*, is among the books noticed.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (October, November, December).—The serial novel 'le Désastre,' begun in September, runs on to the middle of November. The authors, MM. Paul et Victor Margueritte, have done for that part of the Franco-German war, of which the disgraceful capitulation of Metz was the culminating incident, what M. Zola has done for the campaign leading up to the battle of Sedan. The comparison which the very title of the novel challenges with 'la Débâcle'

is not in all points favourable to the younger writers. In their choice of the character, whose personal experiences are woven into the account of the fighting, they have not been so happy as their predecessor. The aide-de-camp Du Breuil does not awaken the same interest as the private whom Zola pictures. He is more of an outsider, and above all, his refinement and lofty sentiments seem too artificial, under the circumstances. On the other hand, 'le Désastre,' though by no means wanting in vigour and in realistic details, avoids the grossness of some parts of 'la Débâcle,' and the knowledge which it displays of military matters seems more thorough, and less the result of mere 'reading-up.' Altogether, it is a remarkable piece of work, and one which cannot fail greatly to increase the literary reputation of the authors.—In 'Chateaubriand et la Guerre d'Espagne,' M. le Marquis de Gabriac is somewhat at a disadvantage; for he has to deal with the period of the Restoration—a period, which outside France, at anyrate, has long ceased to awaken interest. On its own merits, however, and as a study of political history, it is not without importance. It shows that the war undertaken by France, in 1823, on behalf of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, helped very considerably to restore it to a position of influence amongst the powers of Europe; and, more particularly, it indicates to what extent Chateaubriand was responsible for the foreign policy of Louis XVIII.—The lady who writes under the name of 'Th. Bentzon' makes communism in America the subject of an interesting study, which she divides into two parts. In the first, she considers Communism in fiction, which simply means, that she sets forth the theories illustrated by Mr. Edward Bellamy in his novel—if it be one—*Equality*.—In 'En Thessalie,' M. Pierre Mille, the war-correspondent of the *Journal des Débats*, tells his experiences during the late Greco-Turkish war.—'Les Mines d'Or de l'Alaska et de la Colombie Britannique,' is a French contribution to the already extensive literature of Klondyke. It contains nothing but what is already familiar to English readers.—In continuation of the 'Essais de littérature Pathologiques,' in the course of which M. Arvède Barine has already dealt with De Quincey and Poe, the number dated October 15 begins a study of Gérard de Nerval, one of the most notable instances of the union of genius and madness that modern literature has ever shown.—'Sur les Chemins des Pèlerins et des Emigrants' is not a well-chosen title; or, at anyrate, it gives no indication of the subject dealt with by M. Emile Bertau in the paper to which he has prefixed it. That, however, is the only fault to be found with his contribution, which is a most interesting sketch of

the manners and customs of the simple inhabitants of Calabria and the south of Italy generally.—M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu devotes a long paper of fifty pages to the important question of population. As regards France, he suggests as a remedy that the naturalisation of foreigners should not only be made more easy, but even encouraged. He looks upon an annual addition of 50,000 as not excessive. In that manner, he says, France would procure through adoption a portion of the children which nature does not supply.—Most of the contributions to the number for the 1st of November are continuations of articles already referred to. The first exception is M. Ferdinand Brunetière's '*Dans l'Est Americain.*' It is a very interesting and brightly written account of his experiences and impressions during a visit which he recently made to America, where he had been engaged to deliver lectures on French literature.—In another complete article, M. Jules Leclercq, considers the colonial system of the Dutch as illustrated in Java.—In the mid-monthly number, Th. Bentzon, continuing her study of Communism in America, contrasts that of fiction with that of reality. For the reality she has gone to the Shakers; and her second article is, rather disappointingly, nothing more than the account, accompanied with the necessary historical retrospect, of a visit which she paid to one of their communities.—Resuming his study—'*Les Luites entre l'Eglise et l'Etat au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siecle.*' M. Etienne Lamy shows how the Church was able to defend its existence against the Terror, and its liberty against Napoleon.—The two December numbers contain several articles of interest. In one of them, Dr. Brouardel discusses the question of medical responsibility, and deprecates any attempt to legislate on the subject, believing that none of the reforms that have been proposed would be of real advantage to the profession.—M. Robert de La Sizeranne, the well-known art critic asks the question, '*La photographie est-elle un art?*' In his answer he inclines to the opinion that its highest productions are not unworthy to figure in exhibitions of black and white.—It is remarkable that two articles, by two different writers, are devoted to two of the most important of the rivers of France. One of them makes an earnest appeal for the adoption of such measures as may be found necessary to render the Loire navigable in its upper reaches; the other pleads with equal vigour for the carrying out of a scheme for making Paris a sea-port. Each of the numbers for the three months contains the usual dramatic, musical, and political articles.



REVUE SEMITIQUE D'EPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 4, 1897).—M. J. Halévy, in his 'Recherches Bibliques' in this number, discusses the unity, order, and date of the narratives in Genesis relative to Abraham and his descendants. The critical analysis, which he has given in previous numbers of this *Revue*, of the text of these narratives and the examination to which he has subjected them, have established, he avers, their unity of authorship, and shewn that they are all arranged according to one plan, and are pervaded by one spirit. The promise given to Abraham (Gen. vii. 2) is seen in all that follows gradually, if slowly, progressing towards its fulfilment. The slowness of its progress finds its reason in the sins of the descendants of Abraham, and especially of Jacob and his sons. As the 'Blessing of Jacob,' however, (chap. xlix.,) offers some foothold for those who oppose the unity of the text, M. Halévy devotes here some attention to that chapter. Having disposed of the special objections drawn from that passage, he proceeds to a general review of the ground he has gone over in the past numbers, and summarily to restate the answers given by him to the objections of the critical school. He takes Dillmann as the spokesman of the school; tabulates his arguments against the unity of the text of Genesis under rubrics, and briefly disposes of them *seriatim*. *E.g.*, Dillmann in his *Genesis* argues that the text cannot be from one hand because of the numerous repetitions found in it, because of the duplicate narratives, or even triple narratives it contains of the same events, because of the contradictory statements it makes as to the same facts; and so on. These averments M. Halévy places in one column, giving the passages where these things are said to occur in the text. Side by side with them, on the same page, Halévy then places his refutation of the arguments drawn from these, or his explanations of the difficulties against which the critical school has stumbled in connection with them. This completed, he examines the arguments adduced in favour of there being three principal documents employed in the compilation of the present text. 'A' is described as a legal work, accompanied with historical notes explanatory of their origin. Its style is said to be concise, its order systematic, and its purpose ritualistic. 'B' is described as a collection of traditions and sagas of ancient Israel. 'C' bears with respect to 'A' a prophetic character, and with respect to 'B' a Judæan character. On these points, however, there is little unanimity among the members of the school. On all these points Halévy meets his opponents, and defends the one authorship against them. A last section is devoted to the alleged compiler, and the final redactor. The

next section of the 'Recherches Bibliques' is the continuation of his 'Notes pour l'interprétation des Psaumes.' The notes here embrace from Ps. lxxxiv. to Ps. xciii., and the same order and principle are followed here as in the notes preceding; that is, corrections of the Hebrew text are suggested, and explanations, where they are needed, are given. Translations of the emended text follow, and then the period of their composition, and the circumstances which led to their being written, are discussed, and their respective dates, where possible, determined. M. Halévy continues also here his revision of the translation of the Tell-El Amarna Correspondence, with explanatory and historical notes.—M. J. Perruchon continues, too, his 'Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiophe.'—M. Halévy contributes the 'Bibliographie,' and adds a table of additions and corrections to his recent study in this *Revue* of the recently discovered Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (No. 3, 1897).—'Josèphe sur Jésus,' by M. Theodore Reinach, heads the list of articles in this number. The reference found in Josephus to Christ, and the quotations, and the use, of it made by Eusebius, have exercised many critical minds and pens from time to time. Some have accepted the authenticity of the passage, and just as it is; others have rejected it as a later interpolation by a Christian hand; while others have looked upon it as in the main from the hand of Josephus, but modified in transcription by Christian copyists. M. Reinach here does not propose to review the whole history of the controversy, or to discuss all the *pros* and *cons* of it, but merely to sum up the state of the question for the benefit of readers who may not be familiar with the literature of the question, and to examine the text of Josephus itself, and try to determine its character. He gives the passage in the original Greek, with a list of the variants in the writers who have quoted it. He furnishes next a translation of it, and points out that several of the words and phrases in it betray the influence of the Nicene creed, and could not possibly have been made use of by Josephus, or indeed of any writer not convinced of the truly Messianic character of Jesus. The text as we have it, therefore, in the *Antiquities*, if, as a whole, genuine, must have been tampered with, and that early. M. Reinach next proceeds to give his reasons for regarding the text as substantially genuine, but as having been thus tampered with in the interests of Christianity: (1) So important an event as the crucifixion of Jesus could hardly have been passed over in silence by so conscientious and minute an historian as Josephus; (2) Striking out the words

or phrases which indicate the Christian interpolater, there is nothing in the style or character of the passage but what is in thorough harmony with the style of Josephus, or with the mind of a conscientious Jewish historian. The place of the passage, too, in the narrative seems quite natural; in fact, it is called for by the context. (3) There are terms in it that clearly betray the hand of an unbelieving Jew. Reinach here points these out. (4) Origen's reference to Josephus' account of the death of James, the Just, furnishes a proof of the genuineness of the passage in question, and our author here states explicitly its bearing on it. Removing, then, from the present text all the words and phrases inconsistent with the well-known opinions of Josephus, M. Reinach restores it to what he considers was its original form, and then discusses its historical value as bearing on the facts.—M. L. Blau contributes some notes on the recovered text of Ecclesiasticus. He deals both with the author and the work itself. He notes, as to the author, that Ben-Sirach was the family name, and that Jesus himself was the son of Simon, and grandson of Eleazar. The critical notes he furnishes are themselves afterwards criticised by M. Israel Levi, and further critical notes are given on the text by M. F. Perles.—M. I. Levi continues his '*Recueil de contes juifs inédits*.'—M. D. Kaufmann seeks to revive interest in, by giving some account of, 'Menahem Azarya da Fano et sa famille.' He was a once celebrated Rabbin, whose repute, and even memory, have now been almost lost to the world. An elegy on one, whom Kaufmann takes to have been Menahem's father, is given, and is used to shed light on the character and work of the son.—M. N. Roubin continues his '*La vie commerciale des Juifs comtadins en Languedoc au XVIII. siècle*.'—The '*Notes et Mélanges*' deals with such points as '*La syntax de l'impératif en hébreu*,' '*La siege de Moise*,' the word '*Apiphior*,' which has already been discussed in these pages; '*L'opinion publique et les Juifs au XVIII. siècle en France*,' etc.—The '*Bibliographie*' occupies no fewer than 46 pages. A long notice is given of the '*Semitic Studies*' in memory of Rev. Dr. A. Kohut. Each of these studies is more or less fully summarised and appreciated. A lengthy review is given also of Hersling's *Les cinq livres de la loi*, a Greek version of the Pentateuch in Hebrew characters.—In the '*Actes et Conférences*,' we have a lecture, which was delivered before the Société des Etudes Juives on the 29th of May, 1897, by M. Joseph Lehmann, on '*Assistance publique et privée d'après l'antique législation juive*.' It is a dissertation on the care of the poor as taught and inculcated by Moses and by the prophets of Israel, and shows that the charitable spirit, to which

such homage is paid at the present day, ruled in the Jewish communities from the first.

REVUE CELTIQUE (October, 1897).—The first place is given to an article bearing the title, 'Les Ligures en Gaule,' which is really an extract from a Memoir about to be published by its author, M. M. Deloche, in the *Transactions of the French Academy of Inscription*. The paper is worthy of being placed first in the number for the reason that it contains a number of names of places, rivers, mountains, plains, etc., in various parts of France, all bearing incontestible evidence that the dwellings of the Ligures were at one time, and apparently for a considerable period, widely scattered over France. The names have, in many instances, been found in charters and other ancient documents.—Dr. Whitley Stokes continues his studies on the MSS. of the 'Annals of Tigernach.' This time his attention is directed to the Dublin Fragment of the Annals.—M. J. Loth follows with a paper in which he discusses the so-called 'Comparative of Equality.'—The next paper is also from the hand of M. Loth. His subject here is the Cornish language, which he designates 'la plus négligée des trois langues brittoniques,' and attributes this to the three reasons that it has no literary originality; presents, at least at first sight, no linguistic phenomena or forms which are not met with in the Celtic or in the Breton languages, and has a somewhat difficult orthography. It has, however, a number of peculiarities, notwithstanding its close resemblance to the Breton dialect, and these M. Loth proceeds to point out.—A third article from the same hand discusses the question of *n* final and *d* initial in syntactical construction.—But one book is noticed in the 'Bibliographie,' and that is Mrs. Wingate Rinder's *The Shadow of Arvor*.—Being the final number of the year, the remaining pages are taken up with the indices, always of importance in this *Revue*.

#### SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA (Noviembre, 1897).—In this number Eduardo Rod's translated novel, *El Silencio*, is concluded, and is followed by a discourse pronounced by Professor P. Dorado of the University of Salamanca, in which he advocates a variety of reforms, fiscal and otherwise.—Ceferino Araujo y Sanchez concludes his papers on 'Palmaroli and his Times,' giving an account of his stay in Paris, of his studies, his associates, his enthusiasm for the antique, and of many other particulars connected with this artist.—This is followed by a number of observations on the Quijote of Avellaneda, by

Blanca de Los Rios de Lampérez.—In the 'Crónica literaria' Sr. E. Gómez de Baquero notices Sr. D. A. L. Peláez's recent historical work, *El Señorío temporal de los Obispos de Lugo*.— 'La Prensa Internacional' has two pieces from the French; one by M. E. Faquet on 'Prosper Mérimée,' and the other by M. E. Muntz, with the title 'A new history of the Papacy in the time of Alexander VI. and Julius II.'—As usual Sr. E. Castelar writes the 'Cronica Internacional.' Among other topics he touches on the relations between the Italian nation and the Catholic Church, the German protectorate over Turkey, the Spanish crisis, and the state of Spanish political parties.—(Diciembre, 1897).—Fiction in this number is again supplied by a translation from M. E. Rod, in the shape of a novelette.—This is followed by an article from the pen of Sr. Emilia Pardo Bazan, in which the Spanish novelist criticises and estimates the works of M. Rod, more especially in respect to the philosophical tendencies they exhibit.—'El Superhombre,' by Juan Valera, is in the main a critique of *Amigos y Maestros*, by Sr. Don Pompeyo Gener.—In a learned article entitled 'Historia del Hierro,' the history of that metal is traced down from the earliest times through various literatures to the present, and its importance discussed both from a social and a scientific point of view. The article is signed by Joaquín Olmedilla y Puig.—As in the last number the translations in the 'Prensa Internacional' are taken from the French. M. M. Tarde, J. Fugairon, and M. Jacquemin being the authors drawn upon.—In the 'Crónica Internacional' Sr. E. Castelar writes on the relations between Spain and the United States and the attitude of the latter in regard to Cuba. This with a number of book notices and the indices completes both the number and the volume.

#### HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (November).—The space of this number is almost filled with the conclusion of Marcellus Emants' psychological study 'At Sea,' and Henri Borel's 'Wu Wei,' a fancied study, after the philosophy of Lao Tsz, which forms part of his published volume *Wisdom and Beauty from China*, and in what is here given the life of the sage, so far as it is known, as well as his ideas, are intelligibly set before us.—'Caterina Sforza' is a review by H. L. F. Pisuisse of Count Pasolini's volumes on this lady of the Renaissance period who was Regent of Forli and Imola, and whose warlike spirit and genius well deserve remembrance.—Another review by Tutein Nolthenius is of Semon's *In the Australian Bush and the Coasts of the Coral Seas*, and is entitled 'Egg-laying Mammals.'—(December).—Opens with a most in-



teresting historical article 'The Mother of the Orange-Nassau's 1506-1580,' by Miss A. van Hogendorp. The life of this noble woman, to whom Holland owes so much through the training of her sons, is depicted with much power and tenderness, and it is peculiarly appropriate to recall her history when the Dutch are all thinking of the approaching coronation of their young Queen.—'Accident Insurance' by Tutein Nolthenius goes over the existing condition of this in Holland, in many respects most unsatisfactory, and points out the direction which future legislation on the subject should take, and what ought above all to be avoided.—Ida Heijermans, whose strong and bold articles on educational subjects have gained so much attention, discourses here on 'Our Language in the Primary Schools.' As in Scotland there is a wide difference between the vernacular and the school taught language, creating much difficulty for children. There is a necessity for teaching not merely spelling and grammar, but the language itself in such a way as to make children understand and use it in thought and speech, as well as in writing. Much objection is taken to school-books, which are shown by many quotations to be frequently silly and badly expressed, or in the case of 'selections from good authors' quite unsuitable for children, being far too complex and difficult. She makes an appeal for 'easy' reading books containing pure simple natural language, so that children may not learn and speedily forget merely intricacies of grammar, but get to know and love their mother tongue at its best.—'A new translation of the Old Testament.' This is the version of Kuenen and others, of whom Dr. Oort is the only survivor of those who began the work. The first part was published in October, and the work is a crying need in Holland, as the translation in common use is hopelessly obsolete.—Other papers are devoted to 'Biographies of Allard Pierson,' and 'The Society of Netherland Literature.'—(January).—This number opens with a beautiful graceful fairy tale entitled 'Psyche.' She is the daughter of the King of the Past, and with her sisters, Emeraldalda and Astra, lives in an old castle to which comes Eros, King of To-day, but before she is finally united to him, many things happen by the intervention of the winged horse Chimera, the Sphinx, and others.—'Market-garden Villages,' by C. J. H. van den Broek, is the description of a plan, carried out into the most practical details, for establishing small allotment villages which will check the flow of population from the country into the large towns, and at the same time supply the markets of the towns. Nowhere is such a scheme more likely to succeed than in the Netherlands, where

the soil is so fertile and large towns so numerous.—'Heredity' is a study by Hubrecht; and Hélène Lapidoth-Swarth contributes some of her gracefully expressed sonnets.

*DENMARK.*

YEAR-BOOK FOR OLD NORTHERN ARCHÆOLOGY AND HISTORY (Vol. XII., part 1, Copenhagen 1897).—In this part Dr. Finnur Jónsson writes at considerable length on the 'Short Lay of Sigurd.' Despite its name, the poem in question is one of the longest of the Sigurd-cycle, but several German critics have endeavoured to prove that it is not an original whole, but a patch-work from older poems. The style of Eddaic poetry makes it easy enough to prove a want of connection wherever desirable, but, although there is nothing improbable in supposing the poem to be made up of fragments, the grounds alleged by its assailants are far from satisfactory. Dr. Finnur discusses all the points in detail, clears away many of the difficulties over which the Germans have stumbled, and shows that others do not exist at all. Various metrical and linguistic peculiarities, in his opinion, go to prove that the poem is the work of a single author, and the objections raised to its form and matter are mainly of a subjective kind. Dr. Finnur's analysis is excellent on the literary as well as on the philological side, and his treatment of the subject is a good illustration of his careful method in dealing with the old Northern literature generally.—'Ancient Remains at Hallahult in Bleking' is the title of a short article in Swedish by Dr. C. Wibling. The remains in question are mysterious enough, consisting of a stone circle on the blocks of which are incised various strange symbols. The print of a foot and a runic alphabet are the most intelligible of the number, and Dr. Wibling is perhaps right in referring the whole to some heathen worship, which may have lingered on in this secluded spot after Christianity had been generally adopted.—'Standing Stones in the Far North' by O. Nicolaissen is a mere catalogue of these rude stone monuments, which are perhaps the most unsatisfactory portion of our inheritance from antiquity.—Part 2 is entirely devoted to an article by A. Fabricius on 'The Expeditions of the Northmen to the Spanish Peninsula.' As is well known, the Vikings did not leave Spain untouched when they began, in their own rough and ready way, to wake up Western Europe. Accounts of their descents are preserved by both Spanish and Arabic historians, and have been known in part for half-a-century, but the present article is the first serious attempt to compare and criticise the different narratives. There is indeed ample scope for the author's ingenuity in

reconciling the widely divergent versions of the various writers, whose confusion is easily accounted for by the fact that they based their histories on tradition. It may be gathered, however, that four serious descents were made upon Spain by the Northmen during the 9th and 10th centuries; and the precise dates are apparently 844, 859-61, 964 and 968-70. It is interesting to note that Hr. Fabricius has not overlooked the curious passage in O'Donovan's 'Three Fragments of Irish History,' which tells how the Northmen brought Moors to Ireland, who were afterwards known as 'the blue men of Erin.' (This explains why, in the Irish 'Lay of Manus' the Norse king is called 'king of the blue men,' a point not noticed in this article.) Very curious are the accounts of the image which topped some lofty erection in the harbour of Cadiz, referred by tradition to Phœnician times: it was finally removed by a covetous Moorish admiral in 1145. There is much interesting matter in the article, which is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the Viking time.—Part 3 contains an article by Dr. Sophus Müller on 'Antiquarian Excavations undertaken for the National Museum in the Years 1893-96.' After a brief review of the history of excavating in Denmark, Dr. Müller quotes a request sent in to the Museum in 1892 signed by over 400 representative gentlemen, calling for scientific investigation of the many grave-mounds, etc., which were steadily disappearing before the advance of agriculture. Government was found willing to vote an annual sum of £500 for this purpose, and Dr. Müller here illustrates the benefits to archæology, which have resulted from the work. The method of dealing with these memorials of the past is very satisfactory, and the separate finds described are of considerable interest. Probably in no other country is the study of archæology carried on so systematically or with so rich results as in Denmark.—The other article in this part, by J. B. Löffler, has also to do with diggings, but deals with a much later period, its title being 'A Churchyard of the early Middle Ages.' The churchyard in question is part of that now attached to Roskilde Cathedral, a site which has of late attracted much attention among Danish antiquaries. Beyond the fact that the graves are older than the present building, i.e., earlier than 1200 A.D., there is little of general interest in this paper.

#### SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (November, 1897).—'Une Soldat-poete au seizième Siècle,' by M. H.

Warnery, is an interesting sketch of Théodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné. Severely educated, and escaping by the merest chance from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, he forsook learning for war, yet found time to write political pamphlets, verses, and the 'Tragiques,' which, in M. Warnery's opinion, if more finished, would have entitled him to be regarded as the Dante or Milton of France.—The second part of M. Reader's 'History of Russian Policy in the Eastern Question,' extends to the affairs of 1821.—'La Renaissance de l'Idéal en Espagne,' by Sr. Rafaël Altamira, contains an account of the studies in local institutions by the younger school of Spanish jurists.—M. Ed. Saysus describes Mr. Punch's representations of Sir Robert Peel.—(December, 1897)—M. Veuglaire resumes his military studies by dealing with the army of the U.S.A.—M. Reader concludes his sketch of 'Russian Eastern Policy,' and attempts to estimate its probable course in the future.—'Studies in Italian Literature,' by M. Tissot, is devoted to an account of the novelist, Madame Neera, whose later work is marked by power of observation and analysis, which, says the writer, is well worth the early years spent in practising her hand on commonplace novels.—M. Tallichet closes his denunciation of the proposal to nationalise the Swiss railways, which is at present agitating the country.—Gottfried Keller's Zurich story, 'Ursule,' is also concluded.—In the German 'Chronique' the place of honour is given to Mark Twain's amusing speech on the German language.—(January, 1898)—The strange figure of the aristocratic socialist, Ferdinand Lassalle, is well sketched by M. Maurice Muret.—'Pierrot' is a touching and delicate study by M. Monnier.—M. le Commandant Espitalier describes the main varieties of autocrats, and speaks hopefully of their future.—'Perspectives de la politique Européenne,' by M. Tallichet, is an attempt to read the riddle of the present situation in the Continent.—In 'La Sentinelle,' M. Mitropolski gives a grim scene at a Russian military port.—The various chroniques are as excellent as usual.

## S W E D E N.

ARKIV FÖR NORDISK FILOLOGI.—(Record for Northern Philology). Vol. 10. No. I.—This journal reflects the increasing interest felt in Europe for the old Northern languages, their literature and philology. The term *Nordisk*, German *Nordisch*, Northern, though the qualifying adjective *old* may be prefixed in English, as applying to the older language and literature of the four tongues, Icelandic, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian, seeing that the chief interest of students of these

languages bears less upon the popular and every-day language, current in these countries and more upon the older forms of the languages and literatures as possessing more historical interest, but the interest of these, in our own experience in the course of the last twenty years, has greatly increased. Originally, Copenhagen, the Danish capital, was the principal seat of this study, as more closely connected with Iceland, and the University of Copenhagen, where the Icelandic literature in the form of the Arna-Magnæan and other collections, was mostly to be found, and where Icelandic students have, for the most part, gone to study. The interest in the study of the old forms of the languages and literature has, in the course of years, greatly extended. Works bearing upon these had also, from the very first, been published also in Stockholm and Christiania. A sketch of the history of the Lexicography of the old Northern language, in its chief or Icelandic branch, will perhaps best show this increase of interest. In 1786 the first dictionary appeared; a new edition came out in 1814 under the editorship of Rask, and with a preface by the well-known Scandinavian scholar P. E. Müller, and an account of the literature that had appeared up to that time, bearing upon the old Northern. Notwithstanding this advance, the inadequacy of the lexical provision for the interpretation of the language was so great that when Dr. Ebenezer Henderson undertook to bring out a new edition of the Holy Scriptures for the British and Foreign Bible Society, the difficulties in completing the edition were so great, that it was only after a great expenditure of time and money, that the edition could be completed. Passing over the excellent poetical lexicon of Egilsson which appeared in 1860, the next attempt to supply the felt deficiency of sufficient dictionaries was undertaken by an Englishman, Richard Cleasby, who settled in Copenhagen with the view to bring out, at his own expense, an Icelandic-English dictionary. Unfortunately, after several years work, the projector, Richard Cleasby, died, in consequence of which the completion of the work was suspended. After long delay, it was resumed by Gudbrand Vigfusson, a young Icelandic scholar, selected by George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L., who contributed an Introduction and Life of Richard Cleasby to the work, and finally the work appeared in 4to in 1874, being published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. The last dictionary which has appeared is by Pastor John Fritzner, who, succeeded by Prof. Unger of Christiania, has brought out a dictionary of the old Norse language, of which 22 parts were issued by the venerable projector and main elaborator of the work, during his



life-time. Compelled by his advanced age, to give up the work, it was, as noted, handed over to Prof. Unger, assisted by Candidate E. Paulsen, by whom the lexicon has been completed. A valuable appendix was added from the pen of Prof. Sophus Bugge. Professor Gering, who supplies a notice to the ninth volume of the *Arkiv*, characterizes the work in a single sentence, as follows:—‘Of all dictionaries which have gone through the accumulated verbal treasures of the old Northern prose, Fritzner’s dictionary is undoubtedly the most careful and most complete; no one of his predecessors has dealt to such an extent with the *Realia* of the language, which gives to the book a special value.’ Returning to the 10th Volume, No. 1 of the *Arkiv*, this opens with a paper on old northern verbs, whose final consonants are k, l, r, and t, and which presuppose forms in the ancient *ur-germanic* in alon, ilon, aron, akon, or ikon, together with atjan, and which in two respects separate themselves into a special group apart from the other primitive German verbs; they seem in general to be with the above named suffixes derived from the verb or verbal stems and express more or less significantly, a strengthening of the conception, or a repetition of the action which is given in the fundamental word. Not seldom there arises besides, especially in those in l, a diminutive signification. To these may be added a number of verbs which, at least from the Northern point of view, must be regarded as formed with r suffix, formed on adjectival stems. The genesis of this type of formation ought to be most conveniently explicated on the foundation of collections which comprehend their resulting effects in the specially German languages. A beginning worthy of attention appears in the second part of Wilman’s German Grammar, pages 91-113. The article is by M. Elof. Hellquist.—The next article is by Dr. Axel Olrik, who has occupied himself with the sources of the material used by Saxo, the well known Danish Latin poet. These were published by Dr. Olrik in two treatises which appeared respectively in 1892 and 1894, the first of which strove to divide Saxo’s sources into two divisions. The second work strives to deal with the sources themselves. At the solicitation of the Editor of the *Arkiv*, a review of these treatises of Dr. Olrik was undertaken by Professor Steenstrup, who, however, differed so entirely from Dr. Olrik, that his paper (in No. 2, Vol. IX.) was rather a new investigation than a review. Its length forbids an attempt to give a summary of it. In the present number Dr. Olrik replies to M. Steenstrup. He refers to reviews of his treatises from such specialists as E. Mogk, author of a treatise in Paul’s Grundriss on Germanic

Mythology, Prof. W. Golther, who, subsequently to the appearance of Mogk's treatise, has written on the same subject. These have been followed by reviews by M. de La Saussaye and Prof. A. O. Freudenthal. These reviewers have expressed themselves favourably as to the method pursued by Dr. Olrik and a recognition of the chief results, sometimes no doubt with the statement that single points ought to be submitted to new investigation which might lead to other results. 'For my own part, the close of the work with the reception it met with, was a spur to further exertions,—already much that was dark and confused had become clear and simple.' But he felt the necessity of the subject being dealt with by others. This he found when Prof. Bugge took up the question. Here he found the division into two sources, Norse and Danish, accepted, with other points. The further question turns largely upon the question of the sources. Are the sources twofold, as accepted by Dr. Olrik and Prof. Bugge according to Dr. Olrik's view? This is not as yet made clear in the controversy. On this follows, a notice on a wizard formula, reprinted by Prof. Noreen in his old Swedish *lesebuch* in the form of a prayer to the saint Kakwkylla, by which rats and mice are driven away. Of these four lines are given—

' O sancta Kakwkylla,  
Remove dampnosa facilla (or favilla)  
Quod tibi de coelis  
Concessit vox Michaelis.'

The above not to be understood *facilla* or *favilla*, F. Holthansen corrects into *fatella*, diminutive from *fatum*. He corrects, moreover, the mysterious Kakwkylla from lines, used as a charm for stopping fire, and which run—

' Sancte Columquille remove dampna mala faville !  
Atque Columquillus salvet ab igne domus.'

Thus substituting the name of the Scottish saint Columba, abbot of Iona (Hy).—The articles close with a review of Smalands-lagenljudlära—the sounds made use of in Smalands-laws, of which only the Christ *balk* or chapter remains, which has been made use of as the subject of an Academical treatise, which gives rise to an interesting discussion by M. Axel Kock, editor of the journal.

#### AMERICA.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (October, 1897).—This is much above an average number, and is full of good things. The place of honour is given to a recently discovered chapter of the late H. Tuttle's *History of Prussia*. We have

here only one instalment, with the promise of more. The instalment given deals with the Prussian Campaign of 1758. The discovery is fortunate, and carries Mr. Tuttle's work a step further.—'Mirabeau, a Victim of the *lettres de cachet*,' is an excellent contribution. While narrating the history of Mirabeau's early years, it brings to light some curious facts of the time, and shows to what curious uses the *lettres de cachet* were sometimes put.—M. Herbert L. Osgood continues his valuable articles under the title, 'The Proprietary Province.'—'The Development of the Love of Romantic Scenery in America' will appeal to more than merely historical students. Miss Woolley, who writes the article, goes back to 1642, when Darby Field, an Irishman, with several others, climbed the White Mountains, in spite of the attempts made to dissuade them by the Indians. The scenery from the plateau on the summit of the mountains, which were then called the Crystal or White Hills, is superb; but in the narrative of Field's adventure not a word is said about it. The first to make any allusion to it was John Josselyn, who made the ascent in 1663 and 1671. This is apparently the first indication of the feeling for nature in American literature, and Miss Woolley proceeds to trace its development, down to the present, in a paper of great interest.—Mr. G. H. Haynes accounts for the success of 'Know-Nothingism in Massachusetts in the November Elections of 1854.'—Several interesting documents are printed, and the 'Correspondence of Eli Whitney,' relative to the invention of the cotton gin, is given.—Many books are reviewed.

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## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

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*The Christ of History and of Experience: Being the Kerr Lectures for 1897.* By the Rev. D. W. FORREST, M.A.  
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1897.

The subject which Mr. Forrest has chosen for his Kerr Lectures is one of commanding and perennial interest, and continually susceptible of fresh treatment. No one can be supposed to have as yet given an exhaustive interpretation of the Life of Our Lord, or to have solved finally the great variety of questions that have been raised or may be raised in connection with it. Mr. Forrest's treatment of it cannot be complained of on the score of want of freshness, or of devoutness, or of scholarliness. The references and arguments show that he is fully abreast of the theological learning of the day, and thoroughly acquainted with the conjectures and theories put forth in connection with his subject. Like most treatises of the kind the work is largely controversial, but the tone throughout is calm and judicial. The arguments of those whose opinions are controverted are fairly stated and fairly met, and as a rule successfully. Mr. Forrest himself has no new or startling theory to propound; his attitude is on the whole conservative; and his lectures may probably be taken as exhibiting, so far as they go, the opinions which are most approved by the general spiritual intelligence of the denomination to which he belongs, and in which he holds a distinguished position. They are valuable, also, not only on this account, but as indicating, at least to some extent, the trend of theological opinion in Scotland on the great subject with which they deal. The lectures are in all nine, but the topics brought within their purview and more or less thoroughly discussed are extremely numerous. This will be understood when we say that the nine lectures cover over 350 closely printed octavo pages. Their number or variety, however, can scarcely be objected to, as each of them is more or less intimately connected with the subject in hand, and their discussion, if it does nothing more, at least contributes to the breadth and fulness of its treatment. In the first lecture Mr. Forrest discourses on the uniqueness of Our Lord's moral consciousness, maintaining that the moral consciousness of Christ was one and undivided, at one with itself, and altogether free from those self-contradictions which characterise the moral consciousness of men. The point is illustrated in a variety of ways, and the opinions of Dr. Martineau and others on the subject are controverted, but, singularly enough, the Temptation which one would naturally expect to come in here for discussion, is barely touched upon. In his second lecture Mr. Forrest treats of Our Lord's self-consciousness as interpreted by His claims, and discusses the character of His teaching, and the significance of the title 'the Son of Man,' and maintains with considerable force that Our Lord's consciousness of His Messianic calling was determined by His consciousness of His Divine Sonship. The question of Our Lord's miracles comes in for treatment in the third lecture. There is no attempt to minimise their importance. The miracles of healing he maintains 'were both arresting and indications of the operation of a divine will, and a

revelation of its beneficent character.' 'They were *not* meant to suggest,' he goes on to say, 'there are no proofs of God in nature; you cannot find Him there: He is shown only in His supercession of natural methods;' but to confirm and correct the evidences of Him which nature supplied; to open men's eyes to the daily working of His power and wisdom in the order of the universe; and also to show that where the action of His natural laws was injurious, as in physical disease, it was due to the perversion of sin, which it was God's purpose to remove in order to restore the disturbed harmony of the world.' When treating of Our Lord's resurrection Mr. Forrest has no difficulty in showing that it was different from the resurrection of Lazarus, or in disposing of the vision theory invented by Baur, which, if we mistake not, is here attributed to Renan. But though treating lucidly and on the whole successfully of this great subject, Mr. Forrest scarcely seems to have appreciated the full significance of St. Paul's phrase, 'the power of Christ's resurrection,' or the allied phrases in the Epistle to the Romans. Among the topics discussed are the Incarnation and the doctrine of Our Lord's Person as set forth in the Fourth Gospel and in the writings of St. Paul, the doctrine of the Trinity, of the forgiveness of sin, of Justification and the New Life, of Righteousness and Law, and the Neo-Hegelian rendering of Christianity. But though treating of such high subjects the book is by no means dry or unreadable. It exhibits great richness of spiritual experience as well as much theological acumen, and if not exactly brilliant, it is at least a solid contribution to Protestant theology. At the end of the volume, we should add, there is in addition to a fairly complete index a long series of notes in which topics touched upon in the lectures are more fully discussed.

*Elements of the Science of Religion. Part. I. Morphological: Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1896.* By C. P. TIELE, Theo.D., Litt.D., etc., etc. Vol. I. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1897.

The University of Edinburgh has been fortunate in securing the services of Dr. Tiele as its Gifford Lecturer. In the Science of Religion, to which he has devoted himself these many years, Dr. Tiele is one of the chief masters, and by his various publications has won a reputation for himself which is more than European—a reputation which will be considerably and deservedly enhanced by the lectures before us. As might have been expected from his previous studies, he here regards his subject from the point of view of science, rather than from that of speculative philosophy, and deals with the facts connected with religion not as a basis for speculation, but as objects for analysis, classification, and generally for scientific treatment. His aim, in short, in the ten lectures here printed, as it will be in those which are to follow, is to furnish the student not with a philosophy of religion, but with a handbook to serve as an introduction to the scientific study of that immense variety of phenomena which are generally known as religious. Such books are not altogether wanting, but as far as it goes Dr. Tiele's promises to occupy a position peculiarly its own. By religion Dr. Tiele understands 'the aggregate of all those phenomena which are invariably termed religious, in contradistinction to ethical, æsthetical, political, and others,'—'those manifestations of the human mind in words, deeds, customs, and institutions which testify to man's belief in the superhuman, and serve to bring him into relation with it.' The object of the Science of Religion he is careful to point out is not the superhuman itself, but religion based upon belief in the superhuman,



while the task of investigating religion as a historical, psychological, social and wholly human phenomenon, he says, undoubtedly belongs to the domain of science. The term 'Science of Religion' has been objected to, but Dr. Tiele maintains that the study of religion is as much entitled to be called a science as philology is. The attitude of the student towards the various forms of religion, which he carefully distinguishes from religion itself, is set out by our author with great felicity in a passage which is, however, too long to quote. In the course of it he remarks that no religion is beneath the student's notice, but he knows nothing of heretics, schismatics, or heathens; 'to him as a man of science, all religious forms are simply objects of investigation, different languages in which the religious spirit expresses itself, means which enable him to penetrate to a knowledge of religion itself, supreme above all.' As to the kind of science to which the Science of Religion belongs, Dr. Tiele maintains that it is neither natural nor historical in the usual sense of those terms, but philosophical, and does not hesitate to apply to it the method adapted to all philosophical branches of science, namely, the deductive. 'Not,' he remarks, 'the one-sided empirical method, which culminates in positivism, and only ascertains and classifies facts, but is powerless to explain them. Nor the one-sided historical method, which yields exclusively historical results. Nor again the so-called genetic-speculative method, a mixture of history and philosophy which lacks all unity. Still less, I must hasten to add, the warped speculative method, which has no foothold on the earth, but floats in the clouds. For, when I speak of the deductive method, I mean this speculative method least of all. On the contrary, our deductive reasoning starts from the results yielded by induction, by empirical, historical, and comparative methods. What religion is, and whence it arises, we can only ascertain from religious phenomena. Our inmost being can only be known by its outward manifestation.' Consequently in Dr. Tiele's opinion the chief, though not the whole of the material upon which the Science of Religion builds, is to be obtained from mythology and from doctrine in which cult, ritual and ceremonies all find their interpretation, or as he elsewhere puts it—'Conceptions mythically or dogmatically, symbolically or philosophically expressed, must ever be the fountainhead of our knowledge of that religious spirit which is the true essence of religion.' Of the two main divisions into which the subject divides itself Dr. Tiele devotes the remaining lectures in the present course to the morphology of religion, which concerns itself with the constant changes of form, resulting from an ever progressing evolution, and leaves the other or ontological division of the subject to be treated in the following course. For the rest we must refer the reader to the volume itself. What strikes us most about these lectures is their complete sanity. A more judicious writer than Dr. Tiele, or one who is more alive to the difficulties of his subject, or who has them more thoroughly in hand, it is scarcely possible to meet with. Seldom has the subject been treated with an equal fullness of information and richness of thought. Complaints which have been brought against former Gifford Lectures can scarcely be brought against these. Their attitude towards Christianity is all that can be desired, and no one can read them without rising from their perusal with large conceptions of religion and admiration for the enlightened and sympathetic treatment the subject receives from beginning to end from author. The translator of the volume, whoever he is, deserves great credit for the excellent way in which he has done his work. Few will imagine that the volume is a translation. Besides being perfectly idiomatic the style is simple and clear as crystal.

*The Mysteries Pagan and Christian: Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1896-97.* By S. CHEETHAM, D.D., F.S.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

Since the Revival of Learning the mysteries of Paganism have attracted a great deal of attention and given rise to much scholarly and painstaking research, but notwithstanding the numerous volumes written about them, little or nothing was done in the way of furnishing a satisfactory explanation of them until the appearance of C. A. Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, in which the statements of ancient writers with regard to the Eleusinian, the Orphic and the Samothracian mysteries were subjected to a careful examination, and all the important authorities on the subject were for the first time criticised and interpreted by an acute and thoroughly competent scholar. Among the older writers, such as De Sainte Croix and Creuzer, the opinion respecting the pagan mysteries was 'that in them was taught an esoteric doctrine, better and nobler than that of the popular religion, which had been handed down from primeval antiquity through a constant succession of priests or hierophants, and imparted from age to age to select votaries who kept the secret of their knowledge.' This secret knowledge was supposed by some to be derived from a primitive revelation given to all mankind, by others, from the Old Testament, and by others again, from the hidden wisdom of Egypt or India. Warburton's views were peculiar, and found few adherents. After examining the promises of future retribution given in the Mysteries, he maintained that they were 'the legislator's invention, solely for the propagation and support of the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments.' Under the hand of Lobeck the views and statements of the older writers were found in many cases to be utterly baseless. Admission to the societies, he showed, far from being difficult, was open to all on easy conditions without distinction of sex or station; their priests had no extraordinary knowledge, but in the case of civic Mysteries at least, simple citizens were capable of discharging the peculiar ritual with which alone they were concerned. Accepting generally the results of Lobeck's labours, and the facts concerning the pagan Mysteries as set forth by Preller, Dr. Cheetham, here in the volume before us proceeds to explain what the ancient pagan Mysteries were and to point out the relation in which they stood to the so-called mysteries of the Christian Faith. As for the former, he traces them back to the desire on the part of men in the ancient world to obtain some explanation of the wonders and perplexities in the midst of which they found themselves. 'Long before the rise of philosophy,' he remarks, 'men believed in some kind of a renewed existence after death. And if something of the sentient being survived, it was inevitable to ask

What worlds or what vast regions hold  
The unbodied soul that hath forsook  
Her mansion in this fleshly nook?

Do all endure the same fate, or are there distinctions of weal and woe in the unseen world? If so, can man do anything to secure a portion among the blessed? Can he help to bless his brethren who have departed? Are there lustral waters, are there charms and soothing words which can purify the soul and render it fit to bear company with those whom the gods love? Out of such thoughts, he goes on to say, arose a multitude of societies which attempted to satisfy man's need of religious emotion, together with his longing for a feeling of brotherhood in religion, and to give him hope of a state of bliss after his departure from the earthly life; and such societies, he adds, may conveniently be designated *Mysteries*—a term

which is defined as 'the name of a religious society founded, not on citizenship or kindred, but on the choice of its members, for the practice of rites by which, it was believed, their happiness might be promoted both in this world and in the next.' There appears to have been no mystery as to the purpose of the mystic rites practised by the societies. On the other hand they seem to have been well known to others than the initiated. Those who presented themselves for initiation knew of what kind was the illumination which they were to look for, and the teaching at Eleusis as to the greater blessedness of the initiated in the under-world was well known to all Athens. Dr. Cheetham enters into some detail in connection with the various mysteries, showing here and there how they bore on Christianity or prepared the way for it, and remarks that as Christianity advanced there seems to have been an attempt to render the pagan Mysteries more attractive and more impressive to the new forms of thought which had arisen. As to the influence which the pagan Mysteries had upon Christianity Dr. Cheetham is not disposed to go so far as Preller or Renan, or even as the late Dr. Hatch, and the pages in which he controverts their opinions are among the most interesting and important in the volume. Though small—there are only four lectures in it—the book is deserving of much more attention than we can here give to it. Students whether of classics or of Christianity will find much in it to repay perusal. It is replete with learning and sound criticism, and deserves a hearty welcome.

*Charles the Great.* By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

*Philip II. of Spain.* By MARTIN A. S. HUME. Same Publishers.

*William the Silent.* By FREDERICK HARRISON. Same Publishers.

These three volumes belong to the 'Foreign Statesmen' Series which is being issued by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., under the Editorship of Professor Bury of Dublin. With the exception of Professor Lodge's *Richelieu* they are likely to prove the most attractive among the volumes the series so far contains. The name which stands upon each of the title-pages is well known and the subjects of two of the volumes were living during one of the great periods in English history and were more or less involved in English politics. Much has been written about all of them and one of them has long been the subject of romance. Of Mr. Hodgkin's charming volume it is scarcely necessary to say anything. One has to read well nigh seventy pages before hearing anything of *Carolus*, afterwards *Carolus Magnus*, or Charlemagne, as most, we imagine, will continue to call the great Emperor notwithstanding Mr. Freeman's protest, but these sixty or seventy pages are so luminous and form so admirable an introduction to what follows that the reader will rather congratulate himself on their possession. The history and peculiarities of the Merovingian dynasty and the evolution of the Frankish king from the *major domus* are handled with remarkable skill, and, notwithstanding the necessary compression, with a lucidity rarely excelled. As for the rest, readers of *The Invaders of Italy* and *Theodosius* know what to expect in any historical work in connection with this period from the hands of Mr. Hodgkin and will here find their expectations fully realised.—As a writer Mr. Hume is scarcely so well known as either Mr. Hodgkin or Mr. Harrison. His work, however, among Spanish historical MSS. has introduced him to an intimate knowledge of the political relations between Spain and Great Britain during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth. His account of Philip is as full as could be

expected and the features in his singular character are well brought out. Mr. Hume's sympathies are evidently not with him, but he writes throughout in an impartial spirit and with a full appreciation of the causes which led to his failure. The Don Carlos episode is dealt with fairly and stripped of whatever romance has been woven around it. The absence of trustworthy documents is to be lamented, but there appears to be good reason for exonerating Philip from the charge of cruelty and for believing that the measures he took were forced upon him. Mr. Hume gives a good account of Philip's intrigues in Scotland as well as in England and has much to say of the Armada, though one would like to have seen more said as to the preparation for its reception in England and as to the disposition of the English fleet.—To some extent Mr. Harrison occupies the same ground as Mr. Hume. His subject, however, is more heroic; and he has spared no pains to make his treatment of it as attractive and reliable as possible. He seems to have borrowed nothing and to have taken nothing on trust, but to have gone direct to the original sources of information. His labour on so small a volume has been immense, but is amply justified by the result. Nowhere else within so narrow a compass will so full and admirable and in every way reliable an account of the Great Deliverer of Holland be found.

*The Trial of Lord Cochrane before Lord Ellenborough.* By J. B. ATLAY, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. With Preface by EDWARD DOWNES LAW. Portrait. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1897.

This rather bulky volume has been prepared by Mr. Atlay from materials provided by Commander Law, who, though contributing a Preface accounting for the work, shrunk from the larger undertaking, because, as he tells us, of the innumerable legal and technical pitfalls he found himself surrounded with whenever he attempted to deal with the minutiae of the trial. Between Commander Law as representing the Ellenborough family, and the Earls of Dundonald, there seems to be a standing controversy, which, if it had existed in earlier times, might, and in all probability would, have led to something more serious than the publication of a book narrating the history of Lord Cochrane's trial before Lord Ellenborough. The view which the former took of Lord Ellenborough's conduct of the trial in which he and others were indicted for the famous Stock Exchange hoax in 1817 is well known. It was set forth in his *Autobiography*, and has been to some extent confirmed by Lord Campbell in his *Lives of the Lord Chief Justices*, and by Mr. Fortescue in his comparatively recent volume on Lord Dundonald in Messrs. Macmillan's 'Men of Action' series. To that view Commander Law not unnaturally objects, and the purpose of the present volume is to clear the character of the great Chief Justice from the charges which it has been sought to fasten upon him of acting unfairly and with prejudice in the trial. Here we are not called upon to decide between the disputants; our business is rather with the way in which Mr. Atlay conducts his case. As to this, after going through the whole of Mr. Atlay's 500 pages, we can frankly say that he writes with perfect fairness, and marshals his facts and arguments with all the skill of a trained lawyer. As the case stands upon his pages it tells against Lord Cochrane and bears the character of an ample vindication of the judicial fairness of Lord Ellenborough. Of course there is the other side; but Mr. Atlay's narrative and arguments do more than raise very grave doubts as to the accuracy of the charges brought by Lord Cochrane, and to which Lord Campbell lent his authority apparently on

the strength of the *Autobiography* alone. Of Lord Cochrane as a naval officer nothing is said which can in any way tarnish the marvellous brilliancy of his career; but before accepting the portion of his *Autobiography* in which he attacks the purity of his principal judge, the reader ought in all fairness to read Mr. Atlay's volume, which, though of a legal cast, is written in a style sufficiently lucid and popular to make his arguments intelligible to all.

*Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome. Part II. The Liturgy of Rome.* By M. A. R. T. London. Adam & Charles Black. 1897.

This is one of a series of handy volumes prepared for the use of English speaking travellers in Rome, and intended to serve them as guide-books among the great memorials, monumental, liturgical, monastic, and Papal, which meet them on all sides in the Eternal City. The first part dealt with the Christian monuments of Rome. This treats of the Church ceremonies. The first chapter is devoted to the Liturgy. The text of the mass is given in Latin, and also in 'the accepted English translation' on the left hand page, while on the opposite page we have an historical account of the origin and meaning of the Liturgy. Every point is dealt with, a great deal of curious and often inaccessible, but always valuable historical information is given, comparisons are made with other liturgies, the different parts of the rite are described, and everything is done to make the office a intelligible as possible to those who are unacquainted with it. The second chapter discusses the liturgical accessories in the same learned and elaborate way, taking up such points as the sign of the cross, the attitude of prayer, vestments, liturgical colours, ecclesiastical head-dresses, the sacred vessels, etc. The third chapter is devoted to the Divine Office, and describes the different parts or hours of the Roman Breviary; their meaning is explained, and a number of the changes which have from time to time been introduced among them are noted. Other chapters describe the Ceremonies and the Feasts of the Church, and considerable space is given to an account of the rites and ceremonies of Holy Week. Both the descriptions and the historical notes will be found valuable. Both Protestant and Catholic visitors to Rome, but especially the former, will find this little but scholarly volume of the greatest use.

*A Handbook of European History: 476-1871; Chronologically Arranged.* By ARTHUR HASSALL, M.A. London and New York. Macmillan & Co. 1897.

This is a very careful and laborious piece of work—one of those careful and laborious pieces of work which look so simple and admirable upon paper but which for their execution require wide knowledge, an indomitable perseverance and rare skill in the art of selection, for all of which the author seldom gets any credit, and is often abused by those who do not find exactly what they want in his pages and expect they will contain everything. Mr. Hassall's pages do not contain everything about the history of Europe, but they contain as much as he could well crowd into them and suggest a very great deal more. His plan in the main part of the volume is this: Beginning with the year 476 A.D., when the boy Emperor Romulus was deposed and Odoacer was elected Patrician in Italy, he gives in four parallel columns the principal events which happened in almost every year down to 1871 in the history of Europe. An example will show much better than any description we can give of the method by which he proceeds. Here, therefore, is the first on which our eye has lighted. The year is



1547, and in his first column, under the heading 'Germany,' we have : 'Battle of Muhlberg (April 24). The Elector of Saxony is taken prisoner and his Electorate given to Maurice, Duke of Saxony. Philip of Hesse is treacherously made prisoner at Halle (June). The Duke of Brunswick is restored to his Duchy. Diet of Augsburg. Charles at the height of his power. The Imperial Chamber is reconstituted, a military treasury is organised, the Netherlands formed into a circle, and a truce of five years is made with Solyman (June 13). The Diet accept the Interim, a system of faith drawn up by Charles' orders, and which made some concessions to the Protestants, but Maurice of Saxony protests against it.' The second column is headed 'Eastern and Southern Europe,' and this is what we have under it for the same year : 'The Council is transferred from Trent to Bologna against Charles' wish. On the death of Piero Farnese, Gonzaga, Governor of Milan, takes Piacenza. Ivan the Proud takes the title of Tsar.' Under the heading of 'England,' in the third column, we have : 'Execution of Surrey. Death of Henry VIII. (Jan. 24). Accession of Edward VI. Battle of Pinkie (Sept. 10). Somerset defeats the Scots.' The fourth and last column is headed 'France,' and its contents, still for the year 1547, are : 'Death of Francis (March 31). Henry II. 1547-1559. Married Catherine de' Medici, daughter of the Duke of Urbino.' It will thus be seen that at a glance the eye is able to take in all the principal events happening throughout Europe in almost any particular year from the beginning of Odoacer's reign in Italy down to 1871. In the Second Part of his volume Mr. Hassall gives a number of Summaries, such as the causes of the Hundred Years' War between England and France, the dates and causes of the wars between Francis I. and Charles V., and the causes of the Spanish War of Succession, while in the Third Part we have a series of genealogies and lists of the Roman and Byzantine Emperors, of the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire, of the Popes, and of the kings of the various countries of Europe. To the teacher and the student the work cannot fail to be of immense service. Its execution deserves the highest praise.

*Life and Letters of William John Butler, late Dean of Lincoln.*  
Portraits. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.  
1897.

No approved clerical biographer having been found able or willing to undertake the writing of Dr. Butler's biography, the task of its preparation has been put in commission. Several of the late Dean's friends who were best acquainted with him during certain periods of his life, were asked to set down their reminiscences of him ; and these having come under the hand of an editor, he has supplied the necessary links, and added illustrations and further facts from the Dean's correspondence. The result is commendable. The book is not too big, and sufficient is said to give the reader a clear conception of the character, doings and influence of Dr. Butler. In some respects indeed the volume deserves to be regarded as a sort of model biography, and it is perhaps fortunate that the task of its preparation did not fall into the hands of a professional biographer. The events in Dr. Butler's life were few. After serving in two curacies, he was appointed vicar of Wantage. Mr. Gladstone appointed him to a canonry in Worcester, and subsequently made him Dean of Lincoln. The greater part of his life was spent in Wantage, where he made a name for himself as an indefatigable Churchman, an admirable parish priest, a skilful organiser. As an educationalist his reputation was great, and the sisterhood which he founded in Wantage is likely to perpetuate his name, branches of it being scattered not only over England but in foreign parts,

as India. He was a High Churchman, but no ritualist, and was in the habit of taking Mr. Keble as his model. Among his early friends was Cardinal Manning, as well as the author of the *Christian Year*, while among his curates at Wantage, all of whom became his fast friends, were Mackonechie, afterwards of St. Albans, Holborn, and the late Canon Liddon. After hearing the latter's first sermon, he is said to have made the remark: 'That young man preaches better than the Archdeacon (Manning).' Dr. Butler was not a great preacher himself, nor was he a popular one, still he was liked as a preacher by many, because, as a Dissenter is reported to have said of him, 'he meant business.' On most points that came under his notice Dr. Butler's opinions were very pronounced, and like most men who have decided opinions and are disposed to act up to them, he had to submit to a considerable amount of misunderstanding, and sometimes to abuse. Those who knew him, however, were always drawn to him. He had the art of living down opposition and of securing the esteem, if not the admiration, of those who at one time had been his determined opponents. The letters which are given in the volume are varied, and many of them are from some of the first names in the English Church. While illustrating the life of Dr. Butler, they illustrate to some extent the inner life of the English Church between the years 1840 and 1896, more especially during the earlier part of that period.

*The Founders of Geology.* By SIR ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, F.R.S., etc., etc. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

In a series of six lectures, Sir Archibald Geikie here discourses of those whose labours during the interval between the middle of the last century and the close of the second decade of this—a period of about seventy years—best illustrate the history of geology, or contributed most towards the inauguration of the Williams lectureship in the Johns Hopkins University development of that science. The lectures were originally delivered at the at Baltimore, and must have been cordially received by the geologists who were present at their delivery, and were gathered together from all parts of the northern half of America. As need hardly be remarked, they show a profound acquaintance with the history of the science with which they deal; they also fill up a gap in geological literature, no fuller digest of geological history having yet been published than is contained in the introductory chapters to Lyell's *Principles*. The subjects of which geology treats are not always, and, indeed, for the most are not, susceptible of mathematical treatment; theories have often been formed which increased knowledge has proved to be untenable; and now and again the science has suffered from the tendency to carry speculation beyond the sober limits of experience. In discussing the labours of its founders, therefore, Sir Archibald Geikie, while pointing out the permanent contributions they have made to the science, is careful also to point out the errors into which they have fallen. For the most part the first lecture is devoted to the Frenchman, Guettard (1715-1786). In English geological literature his name has fallen into complete oblivion, nevertheless he did much and valuable work. He studied rocks and minerals, traced their distribution over the surface of Europe, observed the action of the forces by which the surface of the land is modified, produced some memoirs of the deepest interest in physiography, and was one of the founders of palaeontological geology. A voluminous author, he wrote some two hundred papers on various subjects in science, and published half a dozen quarto volumes of his observations, with many excellent plates. He was among the first to construct geological maps, the first to recognise trilobites in the Silurian

slates of Angers, and the first to discover the old volcanoes of Central France, a discovery which he made known in a memoir he read before the Academy of Science on 10th May, 1752. He was not always right in his speculations, and some of them would in the present be smiled at; still, he was a notable geologist, and deserves to rank among the founders of the science. Desmarest, his countryman, of whom Sir Archibald Geikie treats in his second lecture, occupied himself chiefly with volcanic geology, and for some reason or other denied Guettard's claim to have discovered the ancient volcanoes of Central France. Besides busying himself with volcanic geology and certain speculations in connection with the formation of basalt, Desmarest was the first to promulgate the doctrine that the origin of valleys is due to the erosive action of the streams that flow in them, and to 'attempt to trace back the history of a landscape, to show its successive phases, and to connect them all with the continuous operation of the same causes which are still producing like effects.' As a proof of his indefatigableness, Sir Archibald Geikie cites his colossal *Géographie Physique*, which he undertook as a part of the famous *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, founded by Diderot and D'Alembert. In the same lecture the remarkable work done by Pallas in Siberia and in connection with the formation of mountains and the changes which have taken place on the globe, is referred to, as well as the experiments of De Saussure, which were the beginnings of experimental geology. The third lecture brings us into contact with the well-known names of Lehman, Fuchsel, and Werner. Most space is, of course, given to the last and his two well-known pupils, D'Aubuisson and Von Buch, the story of whose recantation Sir Archibald Geikie has already told in his great work on *Volcanoes*, but here of course repeats. Among the other names which appear in the remaining lectures, and whose doctrines and labours are discussed, are those of Hutton, Sir James Hall, Giraud-Soulavie, Cuvier, William Smith, Sedgwick, Murchison, and Agassiz. Though originally addressed to geologists, the lectures are thrown into a popular form, and deserve to have a wide circulation. They fill, as we have said, a gap in geological literature, and are admirably done.

*The Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth.* Edited by WILLIAM KNIGHT. Two volumes. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

The delightful journals of Wordsworth's sister, Dorothy, are here reprinted in the 'Eversley Series,' and issued under the editorship of Professor Knight, uniformly with his edition, which has appeared in the same series, of 'Wordsworth's Poetical and Prose Works.' Most of the journals have seen the light before, either in fragments or in whole. They are here printed in full, with certain exceptions, of the omission of which, inasmuch as they are of no importance either for the life of Wordsworth or for that of his sister, no one will complain. Here and there Mr. Knight has added a few acceptable notes, and in editing the journal in which Miss Wordsworth records her recollections of a tour made in Scotland in 1803, he has made use of the notes appended by Principal Shairp to the edition of the *Recollections* which he published in 1874. The work of editing has been well done, but why the misspellings in one journal are corrected, and in another left uncorrected, we are unable to tell. The latter is at variance with the canon Professor Knight lays down on page 9. We are not sure either that Bartelmy is an inaccuracy for 'Bartholemew' [sic] or even for Bartholomew. It strikes us as being a diminutive frequently used for the latter.

*Impressions of South Africa.* By JAMES BRYCE. Maps. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

The very modest title which Mr. Bryce has chosen for this volume gives little or no hint of the variety and amount of valuable information it contains. The reader who opens it with the expectation of finding in it only a number of notes more or less interesting respecting a journey here and there in South Africa will be agreeably surprised. The notes are there, and a good deal more. Of the four books into which the volume is divided, the first, which has for its title, 'Nature,' is devoted to a description of the physical character of the country and the aspects of its scenery. The chapter in which the physical features are described is one of the most graphic pieces of geographical writing we have met with, and the reader has no difficulty in obtaining from it a very clear conception of the general conformation of the country from the Cape to the Zambesi river. South of this river the country consists, broadly speaking, of three distinct regions. Along the coast, all the way round from Cape Town, past Durban and Delagoa Bay and Beira, to the mouth of the Zambesi, is a strip of low land, in places very narrow, but widening out to the north of Durban, till at Delagoa Bay it is some fifteen or twenty miles broad, and at Beira from sixty to eighty. In many places this low strip is wet and swampy, and, from Durban northward, malarious and unhealthy in the highest degree. Behind this low coast strip rise the hills, the slopes of which constitute the second region. 'They rise,' Mr. Bryce says, 'in most places gradually, and they seldom (except in Manicaland) present striking forms. The neighbourhood of Cape Town is almost the only place where high mountains come close to the shore—the only place, therefore, except the harbour of St. John's, far to the East, where there is anything that can be called grand coast scenery. As one travels inland, the hills become constantly higher, till at a distance of thirty or forty miles from the sea they have reached an average height of from 3000 to 4000 feet, and at sixty miles from 5000 to 6000 feet. These hills, intersected by valleys which grow narrower, and have steeper sides the farther inland one goes, are the spurs or outer declivity of a long range of mountains which runs all the way from Cape Town to the Zambesi Valley, a distance of sixteen hundred miles, and is now usually called by geographers (for it has really no general name) the Drakensberg or Quathlamba Range.' The height varies from 3000 to 7000 feet, but in Basutoland, the country that lies in the corner where Cape Colony, Natal, and the Orange Free State meet, there are several summits which reach to 11,000 feet. Behind, and supported by this range of mountains, lies the third region—a vast table-land, spreading away to the North and West, sometimes flat, sometimes undulating, sometimes intersected by ridges of rocky hills, and having an average height above the sea of from 3000 to 5000 feet, though in places the hills attain a height of nearly 6000. The physical structure of the country is thus extremely simple. 'There is,' as Mr. Bryce tersely puts it, 'only one considerable mountain-chain with a vast table-land filling the interior behind it, and a rough, hilly country lying between the mountains and the low belt which borders on the Indian Ocean.' The great drawbacks of the country are the want of good harbours and of navigable rivers. The climate, respecting which, scattered up and down Mr. Bryce's pages, there are some valuable notes, is extremely dry, and as a consequence there is a want of herbage in the interior, though, on the other hand, the dryness of the climate makes strongly for its salubrity. On the low-lying belt along the coast, however, malarial fevers of a very virulent type prevail, but in the

Quathlamba range, at a height of 3000 feet above the sea, they cease to be dangerous, and at a height of 4500 feet they cease altogether. The scenery of South Africa, Mr. Bryce points out, is wholly unlike that of Europe or of most parts of America. 'It is above all things,' he says, 'a dry land, a parched and thirsty land, where no clear brooks murmur through the meadow, no cascade sparkles from the cliff, where mountain and plain alike are brown and dusty, except during the short season of the rains. And being a dry land, it is also a bare land. Few are the favoured spots in which a veritable forest can be seen; for though many tracts are wooded, the trees are always thin and stunted.' The landscapes, however, are not without their peculiar charms. One is that of colour. There is a warmth and richness of tone about them, Mr. Bryce says, which fills and delights the eye. The other is that of primeval solitude and silence. In the second book of his volume, Mr. Bryce gives a sketch of South African history, beginning with the Bushmen, who, according to all accounts, appear to have been the first upon the ground, and bringing the narrative down to the present day, and telling of the advent of the Hottentots, the Kaffirs, and the Dutch, and the formation of the various states and colonies. In the third book we have a narrative of Mr. Bryce's journey from Cape Town to Fort Salisbury and Bulawayo, and back by Manicaland, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State and Basutoland. Mr. Bryce describes the mysterious ruins which he visited in Mashonaland, as well as the aspects and characteristics of the various districts through which he passed, and dwells at considerable length on the two Dutch Republics. The fourth and last book is taken up with the discussion of various economic and political questions. At the present moment its several chapters will be read with as much interest as any other portions of the volume, and probably with more. At anyrate, coming from a writer and politician of Mr. Bryce's standing, they deserve to be read, as they undoubtedly will be by many, with the gravest attention. They are among the most valuable chapters in a volume which, it is safe to say, contains a larger amount of reliable and valuable information respecting the southern half of the African Continent than is to be met with elsewhere.

*A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles.* Edited by Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Foisty—Frankish: Frank-law—Gain-coming. (Vol. IV.) By JAMES BRADLEY, Hon. M.A., Oxon. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1897-98.

The parts and sections of Dr. Murray's great work are appearing with such conscientious punctuality that the heart of the student of the English language cannot but be rejoiced. Here we are well on into the fourth volume and actually in sight of the fifth. Both the Double Sections before us are from the hand of Dr. Murray's colleague Mr. Bradley. The first contains 2079 main words, 638 combinations explained under these, and 240 subordinate entries, or in all 2957, besides 814 combinations recorded and illustrated by quotations without separate explanations. 1368 of the main words are in current use, 670, or 32 per cent., a pretty large proportion, are marked as obsolete and 41 as alien or not fully naturalised. With the 3771 words here recorded between Foisty and Frankish may be compared the 1752 of the Century Diction and 1837 of Funk's Standard. The Century illustrates its 1752 words with 2455 quotations while Mr. Bradley illustrates his 3771 words with no fewer than 17,619 quotations, or with more than five times as many. Most of the words in this section are of Teutonic origin, and many of them are difficult to deal with both in respect to their etymology and on account of



their multiplicity of senses. The Romanic element in the language is also largely represented and such words as *fool*, *folly*, *force*, *forge*, *form*, *frank* and *franchise*, exhibit interesting features of development. The history of *franchise* is particularly interesting and one is surprised to learn that it was first used for the right or privilege of voting at public elections by Burke in 1790. *Force*, *foolscap*, and *foot*, are other words with an interesting history. *Fog* on the other hand has a difficult etymology and it may be doubted whether Mr. Bradley has done wisely in rejecting the derivation suggested by Mr. Skeat. Onomatopoeic words are here almost entirely wanting. Among Scottish words we have *forebear*, *forbye*, *forebreast*, *fore-entry*, *forespeaker*, *forfare*, *forfoughten*, *foregather* and *forrit*. The second part or double section contains 2,128 main words, 300 subordinate entries, 475 special combinations with explanations, and 564 further combinations, or in all 3467 words illustrated with 16,612 quotations. Fresh etymological valuable information is found under *free*, *fresh*, *fret*, *fudge*, *full*, and *gable*, while many interesting points are noticed in connection with the meaning of such words as *fruit*, *function*, *fund*, *furniture*, *gag*, etc. No word of immediate Greek derivation begins in modern Greek orthography with F. The letter F is also remarkable in containing no word beginning with a Latin prefix.

*The English Dialect Dictionary.* Edited by JOSEPH WRIGHT, M.A., Ph.D. Part IV. Caddle—Chuck. London: Henry Frowde. 1897.

This part of Dr. Wright's very useful and laborious work contains 2484 simple and compound words, and 350 phrases, illustrated by 5580 quotations. In addition to the references for these quotations there are 6189 other references to glossaries, manuscript collections of words and other sources, besides a large number of quotations from ancient authors. The parts seem to gain in usefulness and in breadth of dialectical area as they go on, and the interest is, if anything, increased. Scottish words are numerous, and those who imagine that many words used in Scotland are peculiarly Scottish, will, on turning to Dr. Wright's pages, be surprised to find over what a large area in England many of them are to be found. *Cadge* and its compounds, for instance, are used all over England and Ireland as well as in Scotland. So also is *cadger*; *caff* or *cauff*, *chaff*, is used in Ireland and in England as far south as the Humber. *Caw* under various forms, such as *call*, *caa*, *co*, in the sense of calling, naming, driving, urging, turning, is used all over the United Kingdom and very interesting is the article of six columns which Dr. Wright has here upon it. *Callet* again belongs to the north of England as well as to Scotland, as also do *cam*, *kame* or *kaim*, *canny*, *cantrip*, *canty*, *caird* (a tinker), *card* (a comb), *carl* and *carlin*, while *Candlemass* is known as far south as Somersetshire, and even *carrey* (a carroway seed) is not unknown either in this same southern county or in Ireland. *Cateran* is put down as Scottish only under the forms *katherane* (Jamieson), and *kettrin* (Aberdeenshire). It is known, or was known in Ireland also. Macaulay takes the trouble to explain it in his *History*. Our old friend *carritch* is known also in Yorkshire. Perhaps the best article in this Part is that under *Cat*. With its compounds it covers five columns. Some of these latter are very curious and it is somewhat amusing to see them gravely entered in a Dictionary; but then in a Dialectical Dictionary they ought to be, and there they are. *Catkins* is a word which is thoroughly at home in Scotland, but it is here claimed for Yorkshire only; *cause*, too, for *because*, is at home in Scotland, though no mention is made of Scotland among the places where it is used. *Causey*, again, though often supposed to be Scottish, is one of those words which

are all over England and Ireland, though variously pronounced. *Chancy* is Scotch and has not only the meaning of 'lucky' in which sense it is used by Mr. Barrie and Sir Walter Scott, but also that of uncertain in operation, precarious, as in parts of England. *Chapman*, again, is a word which is used over a wide area and may be heard, as is here pointed out, as far away from the Lowlands as Shropshire. *Choppin*, a word well known to the bibulous in Scotland under the form *choppin*, does not appear to be known further south than Northumberland. *Chap*, to knock, is known as far south as Lincolnshire, and under the form *shap* as far north as the Shetland Isles. Under *cheek* Dr. Wright has not a few surprises for his readers who are not so thoroughly acquainted with the dialects as he is. *Chimney*, *criscross*, *christen*, *Christian* and *Christmas*, also yield articles more than ordinarily interesting and informing. The pages of a Dictionary may afford instructive reading, but their contents are not always attractive. In this respect, however, Dr. Wright's pages are rivals to Dr. Murray's; and that is saying a good deal.

*The Authoress of the Odyssey : When she wrote, who she was, the use she made of the Iliad, and how that poem grew under her hands.* By SAMUEL BUTLER. London, New York, and Bombay : Longmans, Green & Co. 1897.

The title of this book comes to one with something like a shock of surprise, and it is with some difficulty that one brings oneself to believe that the author is really serious. On this point, however, if we may believe what the author says, and there is no reason whatever why we should not, no doubt is possible. Mr. Butler is not only thoroughly in earnest; he is not a little annoyed that, after hammering away at his thesis for six years, and taking every means he could to make his opinions known amongst students, he has failed to elicit from any competent scholar a single word in print either for or against his views. Mr. Butler, in fact, is one against the world, and, so far at least, the world has refused to listen to him, or at anyrate to answer him. Whether it will now that he has gathered his arguments together and printed them in book form, is a question no one can answer. For our own part, we have no intention of entering the lists either for or against him. All we can do is to indicate briefly the outline of his opinions, and the arguments he adduces in support of them, and then to refer the reader to the volume itself. Mr. Butler's theory is that the *Odyssey* was written by a young, headstrong, unmarried woman, who was no other than Nausicaa, the daughter of Alcinoos, that she composed the poem at Trapani not later than 1050 B.C., and not earlier than 1150 B.C., that when she wrote it she was intimately acquainted with the *Iliad*, her text being practically the same as the one we now have, and often used passages from it—passages which seem to have risen spontaneously in her mind, and often, no doubt, as unconsciously as passages from the Bible, Prayer-book, or Shakespeare rise in ours—that without any original intention of composing a long epic, the work grew up piecemeal under her hands until it assumed its present form, and that throughout she was incited by the desire to rival, if not to supersede, the *Iliad*. The arguments by which all this is supported are numerous, curious, and interesting. First, there is the possibility of a woman being competent to write the poem; next, the admitted fact that whereas the prevailing characteristic of the *Iliad* is strength, that of the *Odyssey* is sweetness; then, the preponderance of women in the latter poem, and that of men in the former. In connection with this last many curious and striking points are adduced. Men are not good at describing women; women are good at describing

their own sex, but not at describing men. In the *Odyssey* all the men are badly described, but all the women charmingly. Mistakes are made which no man would make, but which a woman would readily make. Not only does the writer show a markedly greater interest and knowledge when dealing with women, but she makes it plain that she is exceedingly jealous for the honour of her sex, and, by consequence, inexorable in her severity against those women who have disgraced it. 'Goddesses may do what they like, they are not judged by mortal codes; but a mortal woman who has fallen must die.' In his seventh chapter Mr. Butler gives a number of 'occasional notes,' some of which are, to say the least, curious. 'An older woman,' he says, 'might have been at less pains to conceal the fact that Penelope's hold on Ulysses was in reality very slight, but the writer of the *Odyssey* is nothing if she is not young, self-willed, and unmarried. No matron would set herself down to write the *Odyssey* at all. She would have too much sense, and too little daring. She would have gained too much—and lost too greatly in the gaining. The poem is such a *tour de force* as none but a high-spirited, headstrong girl, who had been accustomed to have her own way, would have attempted, much less carried to such a brilliantly successful conclusion. I cannot, therefore, conceive the writer as older than the original frontispiece [a copy of *La Musa Polinnia* in the museum at Cortonna] at the beginning of this book, if indeed she was so old.' Again, 'Calypso's jealousy of Penelope (v. 203, etc.) is too prettily done for a man. A man would be sure to overdo it.' And again, 'As for the Cyclops incident, delightful as it is, it is impossible as a man or matron's writing. It was very kind of Polyphemus, drunk though he was, to stay without moving a muscle, till Ulysses and his men had quite finished boring out his eye with a burning beam that was big enough for a ship's mast, but Baron Munchausen is the only male writer who could offer us anything of the kind, and his is not a case in point.' Mr. Butler has also a series of arguments to prove that the poem was written by Nausicaa, all drawn from the poem itself, while as for the place in which she composed it, he tries to prove his point by a careful comparison of the topography of the poem with the scenery about Trapani, and comes to the conclusion that the voyages of Ulysses were practically a sail round Sicily from Trapani to Trapani. But to appreciate the force of Mr. Butler's arguments, the reader must turn to the volume itself. If they are not convincing, they are at least charmingly put. There is both sound sense, scholarship, and entertainment in the book, and whether convinced or not, the reader will peruse it with pleasure.

*Neo-Hellenic Language and Literature.* Three Lectures delivered at Oxford in June, 1897, by PLATON E. DRAKOULES. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1897.

These lectures are interesting as an indication of the increased attention which is now being paid to later Greek in this country. M. Drakoules divides the past classical history of Greek literature into three periods—the Byzantine, the Turkish, the Modern, to each of which he devotes a lecture, connecting them further with the fall of Rome, the fall of Constantinople, and the French Revolution, respectively. There is not much room for detail when one discusses a thousand years in three sittings, still he manages to give us many interesting quotations and side-lights on Byzantine life. To our mind, the most interesting things in the book are Miss Macpherson's spirited translations of modern verses, and the last lecture, which deals with the literary characters of the Revolution, and the present day Greek writers. Mr. Drakoules writes excellent English, but

the phrase, 'pronounce phonetically,' which he uses on pages 6 and 7, is neither correct nor useful.

*Sophoclis Tragediæ.* Edited by ROBERT YELVERTON TYRRELL, Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Greek, Dublin. London: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

This volume forms one of the 'Parnassus Library of Greek and Latin Texts,' which aims at doing for the ancient classics what modern taste and resources have done for later standard works. Until Messrs. Macmillan began this issue, the student or amateur who wished an edition of an ancient writer, undiluted by annotations, and fit to place on his shelves beside good editions of British and foreign authors, was forced to go to France or Germany. They have removed this reproach, and now give us texts printed and bound in the best style that this country knows, i.e., the very best, and also, to judge from this volume, edited on sound principles. The score of pages to which the Editor confines himself, deal with readings which appear for the first time, or only in one earlier standard edition. Here and there a difficulty of interpretation is discussed in a delightfully terse and clear fashion, e.g., O.C. 709, 1220. The result of Prof. Tyrrell's labours is an eminently readable and sensible text. In the introduction he speaks in admiration of Prof. Jebb's edition, many of whose readings he has adopted. At the same time, he makes an onslaught on the Mekler-Dindorf text, which, though severe, is no more than the said edition deserves. We have observed two oversights: the emendation, *ἐρωπελῆσας*, in O.C. 540, which is ascribed to Jebb, originated with Meineke; in the text, *Ant.* 23, ΔΙΚΗΙC is surely a misprint for ΔΙΚΗC. The new Greek type which the publishers have adopted for this edition improves upon closer acquaintance.

*The Works of Xenophon.* Translated by H. G. DAKYNS, M.A. In four volumes. Vol. III., 2 Parts. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

It is so long since Mr. Dakyns' second volume appeared, that we were beginning to fear that he had relinquished his task, and that we were to have no more of his excellent renderings of one of the most charming of Greek prose writers. Happily this is not to be the case. We have here not only the two parts of the third volume, but the promise of the fourth and last. As in the first two volumes, we have here in these two parts much scholarly work, and a number of admirable specimens of the art of translating. As a translator of the works of Xenophon, Mr. Dakyns is practically without a rival, and while reading his renderings we are often reminded of Dr. Jowett's *Dialogues of Plato*, whose methods as a translator he would seem to have adopted, and beside whose volumes his own, though less handsome in form, deserve to take a place. In the first of the two Parts we have the *Memorabilia*, the *Apology*, the *Economist*, the *Symposium*, and *Hiero*, while the second Part contains the three essays, *On the Duties of a Cavalry General*, *On Horsemanship*, and *On Hunting*. Each piece, in accordance with the plan adopted in the preceding volumes, is supplied with an elaborate introduction and a conspectus or an 'annotated analysis,' of which, especially the latter, it is scarcely possible to speak too highly. At the foot of many of the pages we have a considerable number of alternative renderings, though, as a rule, we must own to preferring those which Mr. Dakyns has adopted in the text, and each of the Parts is furnished with a most elaborate and useful index. Of the pieces in the first Part, the *Economist*, though less known than the Memo-

rabilia, is, notwithstanding its abrupt breaks, the most attractive. The genuineness of the Apology Mr. Dakyns doubts, and is inclined to believe that the Symposium was written before Plato's. While the contents of the first Part appeal chiefly to the student of Philosophy, those in the second have an interest for a circle which is probably wider. In the tract on the Duties of a Cavalry General there is much to attract the military expert, while in those on Horsemanship and Hunting there is much that is of interest to those who are fond of animals or have a taste for natural history, as well as to those who devote themselves, like Xenophon himself, to life in the open air, or to sport.

#### SHORT NOTICES.

*Select Masterpieces of Biblical Literature* (Macmillan) is a volume in Dr. Moulton's 'Modern Reader's Bible' Series, and is intended to serve as an introduction to it. The pieces selected illustrate the various styles of composition to be found in the Old Testament Scriptures, and are classified as 'Stories,' 'Oratory,' 'Wisdom,' 'Lyrics,' 'Rhapsody.' The pieces are all well chosen and few will be disposed to deny that each of them fully deserves to be regarded as a masterpiece. Besides the notes at the end of the volume, Dr. Moulton has written an introduction to the volume in which he complains of the injury done to the Bible as literature, by the method adopted in the printing of it, and speaks of the 'immense addition' which 'has been made to the literary patrimony of the English reader by the Revised Version of the Bible, and such other presentations of the sacred Scriptures as this Revised Version has made possible.' The text he makes use of himself is that to which he here refers.

To those who have read the first and second series of the late Dean Church's *Village Sermons*, the third series, which has just been issued by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., will be very acceptable. All the discourses in it are of the same high character, simple yet rich in spiritual teaching, as those in the other series. The topics are varied and their treatment is always attractive. It is evident that though addressed to a village congregation, the late Dean was in the habit of putting his best thought into them.

*Christian Aspects of Life* (Macmillan) is a collection of Addresses and Sermons delivered at various times and various places during the last three years by Dr. Westcott, the learned and indefatigable Bishop of Durham. Five of them are on the National Church, two are on Foreign Missions, and other two on Education, while three of them are on Social Service and six on Social Relationships. In addition to these there is a Flower Sermon delivered at Sedbergh, and a Sermon delivered at St. Mary's, Cambridge, with the title, *Via hominis Visio Dei*, and an Appendix containing three short addresses. Every piece, however short it may be, is like the rest of the learned Bishop's deliverance, fraught with a rich burden of spiritual thought. In the sermons on the National Church many arguments are eloquently advanced in favour of maintaining and developing that institution, so as to make it meet more completely the growing wants of the times. In several of the pieces prominence is given to the doctrines of Christian Socialism, and the necessity for their practice is strongly advocated. The leading thought throughout the volume, however, is supplied by the doctrine of the Incarnation.

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